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METROPOLITAN PARK PLANNING AND  
COUNTY GOVERNMENT

By

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B.A. Yankton College, 1954

Presented in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

1967

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19 1967

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

With urbanization on the increase, America has become a new nation, facing new problems. In both the large metropolitan areas and smaller urban centers, expansion has been accelerated in the last few years. The increase in size and population of our metropolitan centers "is an ecological manifestation of the technological and organizational developments which make a large clumping of peoples the most efficient producing and consuming unity mankind has yet devised."<sup>1</sup> In other words, this in-gathering of humanity is a response to an environment favorable to population agglomeration. Within the social organization of our country, it is easier for people to make a living and easier to provide for their needs in metropolitan centers. "For example, there can be no effective mass market in a predominately rural society, and without the possibilities of a mass market, much of our present economy could not have developed."<sup>2</sup> This natural

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<sup>1</sup>Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission Study Report. (O.R.R.R.C. Study Report), 21, p. 6, Washington, D. C., 1962.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

process of population agglomeration produces many problems. A large portion of these people who move into our urban centers seek to settle in an area where the cost of development is less than in the already built-up areas. The recent influx has therefore been into the unincorporated areas around our cities. This outward movement is often referred to as a decentralization process of modern urban growth. "Entballung der Staedte" is the German term used on the continent to describe this process. A liberal translation is "the decongestion of cities."<sup>3</sup> This term not only defines the expansion of urban centers, but also includes an expression of the desire for less density in urban living. The term describes the increase in land required for modern metropolitan growth.

Many problems are created by urban expansion. For the most part land brought into urban use has not followed any planned sequence or orderly procedure. Consequently, the resulting patterns of resource utilization have not always provided efficient satisfaction for some of the needs generated by a metropolitan society. Parks, playgrounds, and other outdoor land--requiring recreation facilities--can be

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<sup>3</sup>  
E. A. Gutkind, The Twilight of Cities, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 149.

listed as examples of these so-called unsatisfied needs.

The literature reviewed for this study presents facts that show the need for recreational and park facilities. It is not the object of the author to present evidence of these needs as empirical proof, but simply to point out that members of society think it ought to have these facilities. As long as it maintains this contention, the need will remain as a cultural requirement within our urban communities.

Value judgments in regard to the importance, use, and function of parks may vary from individual to individual and from time to time. Regardless of this, it can be said that parks have historically been a physical norm of American cities and can, for the most part, be found in cities of all sizes.

Edward Higbee, in his book, The Squeeze: Cities Without Space, gives us an historical sketch of what has taken place in the environmental development of our cities.

Until the rise of suburbia and the decline of cities, men of prominence in private and public affairs felt a social obligation to demonstrate good taste by helping to make cities healthful and attractive, as well as sources of livelihood. Wealth and political distinction implied that the man who enjoyed them also possessed cultural insights. Such a person was expected to contribute both money and effort to community improvements because his predecessors had themselves established that tradition. This sense of civic duty was a

hangover from times when the public responsibilities of royalty were assumed by the business fraternity. In the absence of a king, the leading merchants of a 19th century American city often accepted the social impositions of wealth. These solid citizens did not reproduce the Garden of Versailles but they did create worthy projects, among which parks were prominent.<sup>4</sup>

. . .Today organized professional welfare activity has largely replaced private conscience and private taste. Parks and playgrounds fare badly at the hands of present city budget makers and in the programs of Community Chests, which concentrate upon the supervision of misfortune rather than upon the elimination or avoidance of its causes. Again, this switch in focus reflects a switch in society's own conscience. The rise of professional, cash payment welfare as the chief business of the largest cities, and of distress administration as the principal concern of organized charity, has pretty well doomed any serious attention to physical structure and design of the city or to the economic and cultural causes of human misery and community decay.<sup>5</sup>

. . .Also, taxes being what they are now, a man of respectable income more than pays his social debts in hard cash and there is less compulsion to donate amenities. Since the public has already put its hands in his pocket without invitation, his conscience is hardly overburdened. It is not his fault that bureaucrats and legislators choose to spend public monies in ways that seldom inspire pride in the environment.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Edward Higbee, The Squeeze: Cities Without Space, (New York: William Marrow & Company, 1960), p. 223.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 227.

. . .Professional politicians, to whom has fallen the chief responsibilities for city development and environmental charm, are not particularly gifted or active in matters of taste. Thus parks seldom assume significance in their strategies.<sup>7</sup>

Therefore, it is apparent that the old form of community aristocracy is not being developed in the flux of our modern suburbs. Tenure is too short and the status differences not great enough for such local aristocracy to develop. Second, land is not the symbol of wealth it used to be; consequently, it is not being accumulated as a status symbol and, therefore, is not readily available for donation to the public. Furthermore, taxes and inflation have taken their economic toll whereby the existing means are not such that a great amount of money or land for public recreation is available through philanthropy. Luther Halsey Gulick has stated, "Fortunately, there are still many avenues of service for generous and imaginative philanthropy, but any mass education or recreation or cultural enjoyment can be provided only through extensive public patronage and support of various kinds, arriving all the way from tax exemption to public construction of facilities and direct public tax

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 228.

support of certain activities."<sup>8</sup>

At times fraternal, civic, religious, and other welfare-oriented organizations have been able to amass the wealth and influence whereby parks are made available within our metropolitan regions.<sup>9</sup> But as is true in other aspects of public welfare, the above organizations have relinquished their activities to the government. Therefore, if the public is to secure the park space needed, it will have to do so through the instrument of government.

John Carver warned that: ". . .the public cheerfully spends millions of dollars for highways, cars to fill them with, cloverleaf interchanges, and overpasses. But only pennies are allotted, and then reluctantly, for the acquisition of land for park uses. Parklands are expensive. But can we afford not to buy them? Costs are doubling about every ten years. Is it economically sound to put off any longer what we should have done years ago?"<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Luther Halsey Gulick, The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas, (New York: Alfred N. Knopf, 1962), pp. 8, 22, & 23.

<sup>9</sup>Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission Study Report, (O.R.R.R.C. Study Report), 22, p. 63, Washington, D. C., 1962.

<sup>10</sup>John A. Carver, Jr., "Man's Need For Open Space", Recreation, Vol. 54, September, 1961, p. 353.

Under Public Law 85-470 the Federal Senate and House of Representatives created a bipartisan Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. In one of its reports the Commission points out that parks, like roads, seem to play the role of food in the old Malthusian calculus: rather than relieving the pressures of population on them, new resources produce new uses. There is little chance in the foreseeable future, the report indicates, of providing too much recreation land, especially since recreation, as a political issue, does not sustain widespread public attention. All governmental units from the federal to the local, as well as all private agencies, should continue their efforts to provide space for outdoor recreation.<sup>11</sup>

The above mentioned Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission points out that the land areas of the United States are finite; and that by 1900 the land available for each person in the nation had shrunk to 25.5 acres, and by 1950 it was down to 12.8. Recent projections indicate that the total land per person within the limited space of

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<sup>11</sup>  
(O.R.R.R.C. Study Report), 22, p. 46, Washington, D. C., 1962.



the United States would further shrink to 3.4 acres per person by 1976, and to 5.4 acres per person by the year two thousand.<sup>12</sup> The report goes on to say that "to maintain present standards, city and county park areas must be doubled within the 40 years remaining to the end of this century."

Another factor considered in the need for more parks is the shift in population to urban centers, as has been already noted, where density and congestion are such that privately-owned open space, already scarce, is becoming less and less available for recreational use. In the past, urban people could more freely use the private rural lands for picnicking and other recreational needs. However, with an increase in population and a few who neglect the owner's welfare by misusing this property, more and more "No Trespass" signs are being put up.

For many Americans the hours actually worked is expected to decrease, and the number of paid holidays will increase providing a considerable amount of leisure time.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>

Ibid., pp. 41-42.

<sup>13</sup>

Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission Study Report. (O.R.R.R.C. Study Report), 26, p. 29, Washington, D. C., 1963.

The extra time has to be spent somewhere and is considered an additional factor in the need for more recreational space.

Other pro-park arguments found in the literature reviewed deal with the psychological and physiological advantages produced through these facilities. One report contends that outdoor recreational facilities could conceivably play an important role in gerontological programs.<sup>14</sup>

A small minority of the writers, however, question the majority's concern for more urban parks. The question can be raised as to whether the demand made for trees, shrubs, grass, and wide open spaces is simply a passing demand, presently being made by the rural-orientated, unadjusted urban dweller. Is this cry for parks simply a nostalgia for a lost rural childhood? Many American people presently, and many more in the coming generations, are being exposed to urban living. This raises the question as to whether the future population may lose, rather than increase, its interest in outdoor recreation. A pointed question is asked: "What will be the effect, for example, of the conjoint impact of the air-conditioned dwelling unit and the

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<sup>14</sup>(O.R.R.R.C. Study Report), 22, p. 54, Washington, D. C., 1962.

dermatologist's increasing warning about the dangers of sunbathing?" Man, the argument continues, is still in the process of accommodating himself to the urban environment, and there is no reason to believe that he may not develop diverse forms of leisure-time activity--some not yet even conceived--which may make present forms of outdoor recreation activity seem relatively undesirable as primitive, incompatible, wasteful, or even dangerous.<sup>15</sup> Recreation in outer space and on other planets may be as yet a remote possibility, but a possibility nevertheless.

Thus far, the growing need for park space has been discussed; and now the problems of urban planning will be considered as it has developed within our urban centers. This introductory material should provide a background for the reader whereby he can better understand and evaluate the specific problem proposed in this paper.

The classical ecologist considered economic competition as a determiner of space relations of man and stated that this arrangement is "natural". In other words, division

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

of labor with its concomitant occupational, institutional, and residential distribution was considered natural because it stemmed from competition.<sup>16</sup> This concept of ecology is akin to the laissez-faire concept expressed by Adam Smith, as described by Luther Halsey Gulick.

. . . Each home owner, each shop owner, each factory owner, each farmer, is expected to follow his own "best interest". He will live and work where he chooses, and sell, tear down, rebuild, or remodel his aging buildings to meet "the demand" and produce for himself the best possible money return. He will buy and sell "at market" and be governed accordingly. In the process, Adam Smith demonstrated, we will thus "automatically" get production to meet demand, competitive low prices, and a city, along with its suburbs, which is continually being brought up-to-date. Sections will change, of course, but we will always have a total social and economic system which is "the best possible" because, by definition, it is the sum total of individual decisions which are the best possible for each individual owner or tenant or worker or consumer, and, after all, the city is always the sum total of the people and their homes, the shops, public buildings, and institutions, the factories, streets, and parks which make it. In other words, the economic laws of self-interest give us an "unseen hand" which are, by definition, best for the entire community.<sup>17</sup>

However, the uninspired builders, as labeled by A. E. Gallion,

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<sup>16</sup>E. Gordon Erickson, Urban Behavior, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954), p. 197.

<sup>17</sup>Gulick, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

are attracted to the cheaper costs of development found in the out-skirts of our cities. We are told that it is here where these builders create the slums of tomorrow.<sup>18</sup> The lots are small, houses are not well built, and no space is available for public use. For best economic gain, each acre must be developed. The central city, whose resources, for the most part, make this growth possible has no political means to control this growth and expansion. Its zoning laws cannot reach these areas. Its building code has no enforceable jurisdiction. The local governmental body in control of the city fringe is that of the county. Basically, the county has served as an administrative body for the State government. It is generally concerned with rural problems and is not adept at handling urban growth and development.

This "natural" laissez-faire urban expansion has not produced the "unseen hand" which has guided each and every individual to decisions which are best for the entire community.

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<sup>18</sup> Arthur B. Gallion with Simon Eisner, The Urban Pattern, City Planning and Design, (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1950), p. 190.

Early in the development of sociology the "natural" concept of human ecology was challenged.

Lester F. Ward in his Dynamic Sociology (1883) used the term "social telesis" to signify the process by which society directs its own affairs in an intelligent manner. This process was renamed "societal self-direction" by Clarence M. Case in Social Process of Human Progress (1931). The assumption underlying these concepts is that society is able to direct its own course of action along progressive lines; it is able to select goals through intelligent and cooperative efforts. In other words, it is not a matter of spontaneous development, but one of deliberate and purposeful planning.

Regardless of whether one accepts the "natural" or "social telesis" concept of ecology, the entire growth of modern urban, as well as regional growth, has followed the latter. The very master plans considered in this paper are evidence of the faith in the concept of "societal self-direction". Nevertheless, the natural forces of ecology are still in operation. The battle of planning is to combat these forces<sup>19</sup> for they are not always compatible

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<sup>19</sup>Alvin Boskoff, The Sociology of Urban Regions, (New York: Appleton Century Crafts, 1962), pp. 8-10.

with accepted values and require modification and control.

In a brief historical summary it can be said that during the early expansion periods of our urban centers, the land-use decisions were generally left to private businessmen, realtors, land developers, and bankers.

"Americans did not believe that a greater community interest stood above that of the profit motives of these men."<sup>20</sup>

Slowly the American people began to realize that the interest of the owner of raw land is purely temporary and purely financial. Yet, the urban community has to live forever after with whatever it is that he does to that land in turning it from country to city. This realization ushered in the need for planning. However, the mistakes were there and much of the planning work had to deal with the correction of these earlier mistakes.<sup>21</sup> The present cherished hope is that planning can become an effective means whereby the mistakes of the past will not be made again. Ideally speaking, planning is deciding what should be. It should be concerned with actions not yet taken, rather than correcting

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<sup>20</sup> Charles R. Adrian, Governing Urban America, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1961), p. 457.

<sup>21</sup> Eliel Saarinen, The City: Its Growth - Its Decay - Its Future. (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1943), p. 141.

improper actions. Dahl and Lindblom have said that "in one useful literal meaning of the term, planning is an attempt at rationally calculated action to achieve a goal."<sup>22</sup>

Planning as a political function is a complex and often controversial concept. Many people have identified planning, among other things, with communism or socialism.<sup>23</sup> "History should teach us," writes E. A. Gutkind, "that only a freedom which grows within limitations is formative, and that laissez-faire leads merely to a shapeless muddle."<sup>24</sup> Expanding metropolitan centers are slowly becoming aware that formless, independent growth is neither economical nor satisfactory. We are told that practical men of affairs are turning their attention to working out means whereby the city can be made an efficient instrument for providing all its people with the best possible conditions of living. Among the more enlightened people planning is not an attack

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<sup>22</sup> Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, Politics, Economics and Welfare, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> Fred K. Wigman, Crisis of the Cities, (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1955), p. 79.

<sup>24</sup> E. A. Gutkind, The Twilight of Cities, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 52.



on democracy, individual freedom, or private property. They have reached the conclusion that society has the inherent right to protect itself against abuses.<sup>25</sup>

However, the ability on the part of the government to perform effective preventive planning is questioned in the planning literature reviewed.

The literature considers the chief problem of planning to be the failure to accomplish a marriage between planning and governmental action. Planning alone, regardless of how technically-sound it may be, is of no avail unless these plans are actually carried out. One of the mistakes that has been made is that urban planners have, in general, tried to develop their function as a technical science divorced from political consideration of policy-making.<sup>26</sup> These governmental planning problems will be more closely considered in a later chapter.

In a primitive culture, planning may be a folkway practiced by the chief or tribal leader; whereas, in our

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<sup>25</sup>Robert Averill Walker, The Planning Function in Urban Government, (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 18.

<sup>26</sup>Coleman Woodbury, (Ed) The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment, (The University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 175.

complex urban societies power has to be concentrated in a government which is able to protect the needs of the masses. The law becomes the group or society's expression of its demands which are to be carried out by the machinery of government which functions through the dynamics of politics.<sup>27</sup> According to Robert Averill Walker, before local governments can adequately carry out a planned program, they must have the legal powers which will enable them to guide effectively the activities of private individuals and to acquire needed property with a minimum of delay and expense.<sup>28</sup>

Only the exceptional law is self-executing. All governments must, therefore, create within themselves an agency or else delegate to some person, or group of persons, the necessary power to administer laws passed by them.<sup>29</sup>

Let us now take a brief look at the development of federal legislation which has made possible local govern-

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<sup>27</sup> Robert M. MacIver, The Web of Government, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 220.

<sup>28</sup> Robert Averill Walker, The Planning Function in Urban Government, (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 49.

<sup>29</sup> Edward M. Basset, F. B. Williams, A. Bettman & Robert Whetten, Model Laws for Planning Cities, Counties and States, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 7.

mental planning by the smaller municipalities. As a result of this planning, many communities have published master plans. These master plans are the source upon which the problem for this study is based.

The National Housing Act of 1954, Section 701, provides the following objective:

To facilitate urban planning for smaller communities lacking adequate planning resources, the Administrator is authorized to make planning grants to the State planning agencies for the provision of planning assistance (including survey, land use studies, urban renewal plans, technical services and other planning work, but excluding plans for specific public works) to cities and other municipalities having a population of less than 25,000 according to the latest decennial census. The Administrator is further authorized to make planning grants for similar planning work in metropolitan and regional areas to official State, metropolitan, or regional planning agencies empowered under State or local laws to perform such planning. Any grant made under this section shall not exceed 50 percentum of the estimated cost of the work for which the grant is made and shall be subject to terms and conditions prescribed by the Administrator to carry out this section.<sup>30</sup>

The Housing and Home Finance Agency is the Federal agency empowered to administer this program.

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<sup>30</sup>Donal Haphins Webster, Urban Planning and Municipal Policy, (New York: Harper, 1958), pp. 80-81. Note: Housing Act of 1954 as amended, Section 701; P.L. 83-560; 68 STAT 640; 40 USC 461.

Many states and localities did not have official planning agencies. Enabling legislation had to be enacted to create them. This act was later amended to increase the scope of this program: specifically, to make cities, with less than 50,000 population, eligible.

#### DEFINITION OF TERMS

To assist the reader in understanding the specific meaning of certain terms frequently used within this paper, the following definitions are given:

Master Plan. The three city-county planning boards of the communities studied have published their community plans as prepared for them under contract by the Ronald Thompson and Associates, planning consultants, financed in part through an urban planning grant from the Housing and Home Finance Agency, under the provisions of Sec. 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, as amended. These published plans are referred to as the master plan.

Parks and/or Municipal Parks. Within the three master plans numerous areas have been designated for park purposes. These include neighborhood parks, community parks, playgrounds, and the like. Many of these park areas are in existence; some already publicly acquired are awaiting

development; and many are designated for future acquisition and development. Whenever the term parks and/or municipal parks is used, the term refers to these parks designated within the master plans.

Board and/or Commissioners. The county government of the three communities is operated by an elected board of three commissioners. The term board and/or commissioners refers to these county governmental officials operating as a board.

#### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In 1957, the Montana legislature passed The Master Plan Act. A few years later this legislation made it possible for the larger urban centers of Montana to hire professional planners. These planners, along with local planning boards, created and published comprehensive city-county master plans. In 1961, the Master Plan Act was brought before the Supreme Court of Montana and held to be unconstitutional. A contractor in the case before the court was going to make use of a certain piece of land in violation of a City-County Master Plan. It was held by the Supreme Court that "the statute empowering city-county planning boards to develop and exercise complete discretion in

developing master plans for the contiguous unincorporated areas surrounding cities within a radius of twelve (12) miles of such cities was invalid as an unconstitutional attempt to delegate legislative powers to counties".<sup>31</sup> Subsequent to the above case, the thirty-eighth legislative assembly of Montana amended and repealed over thirty provisions of the original code, in order to salvage city-county planning.

After becoming aware of these legal and legislative events, the author became interested in finding out what effect the existing master plans have now, and will have, in the future.

A considerable amount of literature on community planning was surveyed. As already indicated, a great deal of this literature argued that planning itself will have little effect unless political attitudes and governmental changes are made. One author pointed out that "planning without political follow-through is a futile waste of time. Likewise, political decisions without planning can be

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<sup>31</sup>Plaith v Hi-Ball Contractors, Inc. 362 P 2d 1021, (1961).

ruinous. The two must go together on a high plane of quality or the result is a bungled job."<sup>32</sup> This study was thus formulated to discover what the local political attitude was in selected communities and how effective existing governments would be in making use of these plans.

This study was limited to only one section of the master plan, that of parks. It was not assumed that any findings in this area of planning would necessarily be true of all the other areas of urban planning. Only incidently might this investigation shed light upon other areas of planning.

A large percentage of the planned parks were outside of the city boundaries and within the political jurisdiction of the county. Therefore, the study was further limited to the discovery of how county government would react to the planned parks within their jurisdiction as designated by the master plan. In other words, are these county governments sufficiently concerned about the parks planned within their territory so that they will make an effort to see that these facilities will actually be developed?

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<sup>32</sup> Edward Higbee, The Squeeze: Cities Without Space, (New York: William Marrow & Company, 1960), p. 311.

The county, by state statutes and judicial interpretation, is one of the civil divisions of the state for political and judicial purposes;<sup>33</sup> it does not possess the powers of local legislation and control.<sup>34</sup> In other words, the county is not a sovereign, but only a political subdivision of the state for governmental purposes.<sup>35</sup> The granted powers of the county can only be exercised by the board of county commissioners which consists of three members having a six-year term of office.<sup>36</sup> Selected statutory provisions defining the role of county government are included in Appendix I.

Therefore, it can be said that the power structure of county government is centered chiefly in the board of county commissioners. They were, therefore, selected as the main source of information. It is their attitude, decisions, and actions which will determine what will happen to the planned parks.

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<sup>33</sup>State ex rel Lambers v. Goad, 23 M 131, 137; 57 P 1092.

<sup>34</sup>Hersey v Neilson, 47 M 132, 141; 131 P. 30.

<sup>35</sup>Bignell et al v. Cummins, 69 M 294, 299; 22 P 797.

<sup>36</sup>Revised Codes of Montana, Vol. 2, Title 16, Chapters 8 and 9.



The purpose of the study was, not to test a particular hypothesis, but to serve as an exploratory research. Three Montana communities with master plans will be considered.

The particular questions to be answered can be stated as follows:

1) Is the general attitude of the county commissioners toward the master plans such that they will be willing to adhere to the plan's proposals for park areas?

2) Are the priorities of the functions of county government such that parks will have a good chance of being developed as planned?

3) Is there any effort being made presently by the county to acquire and develop the designated parks of the master plan?

The final over-all general question to be answered is:

4) Will county government, as it exists today, be capable of acquiring and developing planned municipal parks?

To provide possible answers to the above questions the board of county commissioners was interviewed. A questionnaire guide of open-end questions was used. All three members of the boards of the three communities were interviewed as a board. It was felt that the individual responses and reactions, along with the interaction between

the members of the board during the interview, would provide the data needed for this study. Details of the method used and its evaluation will be discussed in Chapter Two.

For a better understanding of the data, a brief description of the three communities will be given.

They are located in western Montana. Lumbering, mining and agriculture are their chief industries.

Their master plans were published within a three-year period, (1960-1962); and as already noted, they were prepared by the same planning consultant firm.

Within all of the communities an outward expansion of the urban centers had taken place increasing the density of the adjacent county's population.

These communities have a large amount of rural recreational area available to them due to the mountain and forest regions in which they are located. This may alter, to some extent, the required minimum standards established by the National Recreation Association for some types of recreational facilities in regard to these communities. Regardless of whether it can be determined that the recreational facilities are above or below these accepted standards, the fact remains that each community has outdoor recreational facilities proposed within its master plan.

The majority of the proposed sites are located outside of the city limits and within the jurisdiction of the county.

Disguised maps are added to aid the reader and will be found in Appendixes II, III and IV. They depict the amount of park area proposed within the master plan by the communities outside of the city limits.

#### DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY A \*

The community may be considered a small trade center with lumbering, agriculture and tourist activities. Its population is over 10,000 and the county's population is over thirty thousand. Since it is located within the Rocky Mountains, farming is marginal and part-time in character. A great potential of agricultural irrigation has not been extensively developed. If this irrigation were developed, it could increase general agricultural production and give impetus to the existing production of small fruits.

With the improvement of access roads, the lumbering and wood products industry could increase considerably. Tourism, which is already an important part of the community's

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\*NOTE: The data describing these communities were taken from their master plans.

economy, is capable of considerable expansion because of the scenic surroundings of the community.

The census tabulations within their master plan are not broken down to where the actual suburban population growth can be determined. However, the percentage of increase between 1950-1960 for the urban population was 0.8%, and for the same period the rural population increased eighty-three per cent. The total number of farms decreased between 1950 and 1959 by 234 farms. The assumption is made that the bulk of this increase has been in the fringe of the urban area.

The existing parks in the fringe area consist of approximately 17.35 acres. The area of proposed planned parks for this area is 43.0 acres. A map in Appendix II will show the type and amount of park area designated within the master plan.

#### DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY B

This community is a large mining community, surrounded by cattle ranches and irrigated farms. Only small and limited industry is located here. Since its peak in 1920, the population of this community has declined. The city's

population is around 30,000; and the county a little over forty-six thousand. In 1958, approximately 30% of the total population lived in the unincorporated urban fringe. It is this area that significant increase in population has developed, while within the city itself and in the rural area the population has declined. This community can be considered a transportation center. It is the junction of four transcontinental railroads, and is to be a control point for the future routing of both the north-south and east-west inter-state highways. This should, its master plan contends, provide the city with future economic growth and arrest the decline in population due to the decrease in mining operations. It is also hoped that in the future the area's large forest resources will be tapped. This will provide an added boost to its economy and growth.

The master plan of this community does not give specific acre figures for the proposed park areas nor for the existing parks. The master plan states: "Within the fringe area, just over 180 acres are available for parks and recreational use. Much of this acreage is either undeveloped or poorly located." A map in Appendix III will point out the proposed and existing parks.

## DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY C

The city within this community can be considered a growing educational, lumber, medical and service center. It receives a large share of its state's tourist traffic. Fishing, hunting, swimming, boating, "dude" ranching, packing, camping, and like sports are readily available in the area. From 1950-1960, the population of the county in which this city is the chief population center increased 25.8 per cent. The total urban population is over thirty-nine thousand. The community's master plan points out that, ". . . 32% of the urban area population that resided outside the city limits had the highest growth rate, higher fertility ratio, larger proportion of children, larger households, etc." The master plan further indicates that there is considerable evidence of continuing growth in the population of this urban area. This community has a stable economy and contains within its structure the capacity for further growth.

The proposed additional parks outside of the city limits of this community total 20.5 acres. In addition to these proposed parks a few already exist; some are developed and others need developing. A type of park has been suggested

in their master plan which is not found in the others:  
that of a parkway to be developed along a river. The  
master plan discusses the parkway as follows:

The parkway is a very specialized type of street or a narrow strip of land devoted to park purposes with a road running through it. The parkway is usually located so as to provide a scenic drive, with picnic tables located at strategic spots. Day parks with shelters and cooking facilities, small children's area, and area for mass games, such as football and baseball, are also sometimes provided.

In the past this is one phase of the recreation program that has been almost completely neglected. Today, many cities seeing the economic value as well as the aesthetic values of such a facility are spending thousands of dollars to acquire land for parkways. The parkway properly developed would have considerable economic value in attracting tourists, and further, the importance of \_\_\_\_\_ as a historical site could be fully realized.

A map of the proposed parks will be found in Appendix IV.

The description of these Montana communities has portrayed the number, kind, and location of parks designated within the master plans. The appendix maps reveal the parks located outside the city boundaries within the county's jurisdiction. These county parks are the central concern of this study. The main question to be answered is whether or not the existing county government will give these designated parks the needed consideration whereby they will become developed functional parks as planned.

## CHAPTER TWO

### METHODOLOGY AND EVALUATION OF THE METHODOLOGY

The different social research methods were given consideration and analyzed. The author selected the "open question" interview as best suited for this type of exploratory research. The information sought was not of a statistical nature; the purpose of the inquiry was to discover attitudes toward a given subject and to determine what actions may be taken in the future regarding that subject. There was no way of knowing exactly what the responses would be during the interview, so one could only speculate. William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt in Methods in Social Research, maintain that the unstructured, "open-ended" questions must be used when the responses to the item cannot be anticipated in detail.<sup>1</sup> They, also, while discussing the questions directed towards deeper and more difficult issues of motivation, attitude and the like, pointed out that "the interviewer cannot be satisfied with merely writing down the answer. He must be certain (1) that he

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<sup>1</sup>William J. Goode & Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952), p. 133.



understands the answer, and (2) that it is actually an answer to the question".<sup>2</sup> To accomplish this requires flexibility during the interview and, on occasion, calls for the probing question. It was decided, therefore, that the research method to be used for this study would have to be unstructured in character and more in the nature of a probing conversation. To facilitate this objective an interview guide was constructed. (See Appendix V)

The first seven questions of the interview guide were for the purpose of establishing rapport. The next section of the guide dealt with the board of commissioners' participation in the creation of the master plan. These were followed by a series of questions dealing specifically with their relationship and attitude toward the master plan. The final section of the guide dealt with the boards' attitude toward parks in their jurisdictional areas as designated in the master plan; and to discover what their future conduct will be regarding these parks.

The interviews were not to be conducted on an individual basis, but they were to be conducted before the entire board of county commissioners. The boards interviewed

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 201.

consisted of three members each. The purpose of this type of board interview was to capture the interaction and consequent reaction of the entire board. In addition, it was felt that the interview should take place in the surroundings in which the board normally functioned in the hope that the reactions and comments to the questions would be more akin to what would normally transpire during regular business sessions. In other words, the aim was to discover the reaction of a governmental body rather than that of the individuals within that body.

A tape recorder was used to record the responses during the interviews. After the interviews, the recorded tapes were transcribed for analysis. This method made it possible to retain detailed information which would not be possible if only hand-written notes were kept during the interview. It also grants the interviewer greater freedom to observe the respondent's reactions, and to concentrate on the effectiveness of the responses and the general progress of the interview. Notes were kept of these observations during the interview and were of some assistance in analyzing the transcripts. The use of the tape recorder, not only made it possible to record the actual spoken words, but also the tone and inflection in which these words were spoken. This

aided in making a proper interpretation of the information gathered.

A field log was kept in which the events were recorded which had transpired in arranging and getting to the interviews, and difficulties encountered in setting up the tape recorder. The field log also contained the events and activities that took place during the interviews. Events which were of a visual nature, or strange noises which would otherwise not be identifiable by listening to the tape itself were recorded. Other observations related to the interview, but which were encountered after the interview had been completed, were also recorded.

The first board interview was conducted as a pilot study. However, a great deal of valuable information was gleaned from it which will be used as part of the data. Some negative discoveries were encountered during this first interview. These served to assist the interviewer in improving the later interviews.

First, it was discovered that special effort must be made to insure the presence of all members of the board during the interview. One member was not present during the first interview, and another was late, thus defeating the purpose of a board interview. The subsequent boards

interviewed had all members present.

Second, verbal identification was made by the interviewer of the maps, on which certain details were pointed out. It became apparent that further identification would be necessary in order to properly identify details on the maps within the transcript of the tape recording. This was done satisfactorily during the subsequent interviews.

Third, it was felt that the initial queries of the questionnaire guide did create the desired rapport. The questions dealing with the master plan and specifically those with park planning required considerable flexibility. A few questions needed some explanation. A number of probing questions had to be added, but this must be expected from an unstructured questionnaire guide in that the exact responses cannot be anticipated and often are general or superfluous and require further probing. After evaluating the transcript of this initial interview, the decision was made that no changes in design or additions were required in the questionnaire guide. The experience obtained during the use of the guide in the pilot study was expected to make the subsequent interviews operate more smoothly.

The second board interviewed agreed to meet on a designated date between 3:00 and 4:00 P.M. The author

arrived at the court house at 1:00 P.M. in the hope of gaining admittance to the board room or office of the commissioners in order to make a survey of the facilities available for setting up the tape recorder. Everything was locked up and the only information given was that the commissioners would not be in until after 2:00 or 3:00 P.M.

In the meantime, a visit was made to the city hall to check on present city boundaries to assist the author in preparing for the interview. While there, the author had an opportunity to interview the city mayor. No tape recorder was used, but notes were kept and some of this information was used in the final analysis of this study.

With additional time available before meeting with the commissioners, the author made contact with an attorney who served on the city-county planning board of this community. He was most interested in this study and an interview with him was scheduled to follow immediately after the meeting with the commissioners. Again no recorder was used during this interview, but notes were kept and his responses are also included in the final evaluation of the research.

The interviews with the mayor and with the attorney, although not a part of the original design of the research,

do serve a valuable purpose as they supply supplemental data.

There were many technical difficulties encountered during the second interview which did not arise during the pilot study. The elimination of these technical difficulties served to make the third interview a very smooth operation. The author was also able to familiarize himself with the office of the board of commissioners who were engaged in the third interview. This made it possible to pre-plan the setting-up of the tape recorder for good recording results. Few disturbances from commissioners' clients took place during the third interview, and although one member was a few minutes late, the interview progressed smoothly and continuity was maintained.

#### EVALUATION OF THE METHODOLOGY

Although the evaluation of the methodology may not add to the findings of this research, it serves a twofold purpose:

- 1) to show the reader the limitations of the findings and to make him aware of the need for further research in this area of inquiry.
- 2) to assist future investigators utilizing similar

methodology so that the short-comings of the technical difficulties may be avoided.

It is true that the action thus far taken by the county government in the area of park planning and development could have been established through records of their proceedings and the like. However, to discover what their feelings and attitudes are in relation to this matter is a problem of a different nature. Also an attempt to evaluate, in part, the possible actions they may reasonably take in the future demanded more than just a review of the documents and recorded proceedings. Therefore, the interview was the method chosen as a means of gathering the desired information. Even so, one must recognize the short-comings of this method in gathering this type of information. Public officials, by the very nature of their position have a right to be suspicious and hesitant in expressing their views and feelings on issues pertaining to their office. They are definitely involved as individuals in the data and, as has been pointed out in the literature on research methods, there is a likelihood of bias. There always exists a certain danger of their withholding or distorting some of the facts because to communicate them may be threatening or destructive of their position or

future success.<sup>3</sup>

It is the assumption of the author that since the initial phase of the interview the commissioners had most of their fears stifled and were, for the most part, open and free in their discussion. No overt withholding of facts was noted by the author. There were only a few times when the informants seemed hesitant in their responses. Although there may have been some latent reticence on the part of the informants and some bias present in the responses made, the data did indicate the attitude of the commissioners toward park planning. The interviews revealed what actions have been taken in the past, and what actions may be taken in the future. Nevertheless, the entire data must be considered and evaluated by taking into account the vested interests of the informants.

There are a number of problems and shortcomings encountered in a group interview of this type. The literature reviewed on group interviews have not dealt with as small and unique a group as a board of county commissioners.

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<sup>3</sup>Leon Festinger & Daniel Katz (eds.) Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, (New York: The Dryden Press, 1953), pp. 330-331.



However, the same problems presented themselves in the interviews of these three-member boards as were reported in other group interviews.<sup>4</sup>

Irrelevancies are often generated. One member will carry on a certain discussion that has little or nothing to do with the subject matter of the interview. A prime example of this took place during the second interview. One commissioner, while the interview was being conducted, got up from the table and proceeded to the corner of the room to demand a candy bar from the secretary. He was loud and boisterous and the incident was picked up by the tape recorder. In the middle of recorded response the transcript noted: "Young boy in background wanting piece of candy," referring to the above episode. Upon returning to the group he childishly explained why he deserved the candy. On two other occasions this same individual wandered around and returned, with irrelevant tidbits.

For the most part, however, all three interviews did not generate excessive irrelevancies. As a matter of fact,

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<sup>4</sup>Robert K. Merton, Marjorie Fiske, Patricia L. Kendall, The Focused Interview, A Manual of Problems and Procedures, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 135-170.

from the transcript of the first and last interviews, it can be said that no irrelevancies were revealed. Therefore, this defect of group interviews was not a serious problem during the research.

The development of a leader among the interviewees will cause the others to look to him for guidance and they tend, consciously, or otherwise, to report reactions similar to his, or simply to indicate agreement with him. This did happen on occasion. Since the group does function during their official business as a board, this same leader would on those occasions also take the initiative. Therefore, the presence of this phenomenon during the interview would increase the validity of the collected data. In other words, no harm is done since the interviewer is seeking the reaction, or potential action, of a board in which the dominance of one and the interaction of the other members is to be an expected factor during the regular function of the board. In the same vein, during a group interview there may be a resistance to report information "before" the other members of the group. This conduct was not obviously present during the interview. If it were latently present, again it would be an interaction factor among the board members which can reasonably be an expected reaction under normal business

transactions. Thus, it would be a valid indication as to the board's general conduct.<sup>5</sup>

A definite problem concerning group interviews is that they are sometimes hard to schedule. Another danger often apparent is that one member may become sullen, uninterested, or anxious to leave and break up the group as such before the desired data is obtained.<sup>6</sup> Considerable time did pass since a few letters and a phone call was required before two of the board of county commissioners finally scheduled the interview. Also, during two of the board interviews, members would leave the interview and return at will, breaking up the continuity.

Almost forty years ago, E. S. Bogardus discussed the potential merits of the group interview.<sup>7</sup> A more recent article made the following favorable comments concerning the group interview:

1) The group interview frequently opens varied dimensions of a problem which might not be revealed in

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>James D. Thompson & N. J. Demerath, "Some Experiences with the Group Interview", Social Forces, Vol. 31, Dec. 1952, #2, p. 148.

<sup>7</sup>E. S. Bogardus, "The Group Interview", Journal of Applied Sociology, Vol. 10, 1926, p. 372.

individual interviews.

2) The group interview tends to produce more precise answers because the interaction of group members tends to define terms and make more specific the conditions under which certain statements hold.

3) In a group interview situation the group may convince a member that his estimate of something is incorrect, thereby causing him to revise his estimate on the basis of facts or factors he had overlooked.<sup>8</sup>

The literature on group interviews indicates that further study is needed to evaluate properly the merits of group interviews over individual interviews. In another more comprehensive study dealing with a problem similar to that formulated for this study, the commissioners of a number of boards could be interviewed individually, while other boards could be interviewed as units to determine if there are any noted differences in the acquired data. It is impossible to say from this study whether the content of the information would have been different or better if the commissioners had been interviewed individually rather than as a unit.

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<sup>8</sup>James D. Thompson, op. cit.

All of the commissioners seemed independent in their responses. For the most part, no disagreements were present among them. One thing is certain; the interaction between the members, and the show of leadership, which is probably present during the normal action of the board, would not have been a part of the data had individuals been interviewed.

There is no doubt that the use of the tape recorder was the best means of recording the interviews. To gather all the information by any other means would have been impossible. No outward objection to the use of the recorder was expressed, but there may have been latent apprehensions and misgivings on the part of the commissioners. Regardless of what effect the recorder may have had on the informants, the desired data was made available. The author is in full agreement with the merits of the use of the tape recorder as presented by Bucher, Fritz and Quarantelli.<sup>9</sup> Their paper points out that it is quite obvious that a remarkably large amount of material is lost in written interviews as compared to tape recorded interviews. The tape-recorded interview, they continue, is also a liberating

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<sup>9</sup>Rue Bucher, Charles E. Fritz, E. L. Quarantelli, "Tape Recorded Interviews in Social Research", American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, June 1956, p. 359.

influence on the interviewer, because it permits him to devote full attention to the respondent. He does not have to be absorbed in the task of note-taking.

Candor, however, requires the listing of the shortcomings encountered in this research so that the reader will receive the proper perspective as to the validity of the findings.

During the first interview, the clarity of the recording was very good except during the time when the tardy commissioner made his appearance. Two clients of the commissioners did come in to transact minor business which did not take very long; the interview was suspended during this time and was commenced again without much difficulty or loss of continuity.

The recording of the second interview was bad. For reasons already mentioned, the survey of the area was not possible prior to the actual interview so that the recorder could be placed properly and the volume setting tested. The room was very large, and it had a high ceiling. (Diagram of Commissioners' Office in Appendix VI.) Acoustics were poor. The nearest electrical outlet was a considerable distance from the very long table at which the commissioners sat. It was fortunate that an extension cord was included in the

recording equipment. The recorder "mike" had to be placed on one end of the table with the recorder on the floor, in order to reach the outlet with the extension cord. From the author's position across the table from the commissioners, it was impossible to check the operations of the recorder. During the preliminary questions, the author noted that the commissioner at the far end, away from the recorder "mike" had a rather soft voice. This made it necessary for the author to increase the recording volume, thus creating some recording distortion. Due to the office arrangement and to the wide open doors, noise from the hall came into the room. The noise of the business being carried on with the secretary through the office teller-type windows was especially annoying. Each of the commissioners had his own phone in front of him on the long table. The phones were constantly ringing. At one time the assistant came in and used the mimeograph machine in the corner of the office. This made the task of transcribing the interview most difficult. Amidst all this noise, careful listening was required to understand the respondents' comments. Often it required the deciphering of one voice out of two or three. With a great deal of patience and concentrated effort, the author was finally able to transcribe most of the interview. From this

experience, a special effort was made to insure a more quiet atmosphere, and most of these problems were avoided during the third interview.

For a broader more comprehensive evaluation of the issues of this study, the interviewing of only three boards of county commissioners is not enough. One must admit that the data gathered in this paper can be considered only as introductory and exploratory. However, the experience was valuable, and the following recommendations for further research are being made:

- 1) More county boards of commissioners which have the problem of urban expansion and who have a published master plan should be interviewed.

- 2) The initial contact for an interview appointment should be made in person. Letters are too easily ignored. In addition the interviewer's presence permits him to survey the surroundings giving him a chance to find the electrical outlets and to help him estimate the amount of extension cord needed for the proper placing of the tape recorder. Also, this initial contact would serve to calm some of the apprehensions of the interviewees prior to the actual interview.

- 3) Another important recommendation, and there should



be no reason why it could not be followed, would be to have the interview take place at some time other than the office hours. Too many people come in to carry on business which is very disturbing to the planned, recorded interview.

Having the interview sometime other than during office hours, would also eliminate the constant ringing of the business phone. It might possibly also eliminate intrusions of employees of the commissioners during the scheduled recording. The absence of these disrupting factors would assist in maintaining greater continuity during the interview.

4) If at all possible, an attempt to adjust the recording qualities of the tape recorder prior to the interview should be made. Many of the county courthouses in which the commissioners' offices are located are old buildings with high ceilings. They make for very poor acoustics which can adversely affect the quality of the recording. A poor recording becomes difficult to transcribe.

## CHAPTER THREE

### FINDINGS AND THE EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS

#### COMMUNITY A

The map in Appendix II will show the amount and types of parks proposed by the master plan of this community.

The commissioner who was the most active participant during the interview was enthusiastically favorable to the idea of planning and to their own existing master plan. About the master plan he said, "It helps us in knowing what is available, what kind of use can be made of certain areas. In general, I would say it has considerable value in helping us decide what should be done in some of these areas. It does serve as a guide." The other commissioner was rather apathetic.

Harmony seems to exist between the county and the city in their planning efforts. One commissioner looked forward to a meeting of the planning board of which he and representatives from the city were members. The question was asked, "Do you think then that the county and city would work together on some of these park projects?" The response was, "Yeah, with a commissioner on these planning boards and representatives from the city, why I don't see how we can

help (but work together)."

The fact was surprising that the same commissioner who showed favorable interest in their master plan lacked knowledge of the legal planning development of the state. Seeking his opinion and feelings on the present law with its thirty amendments, he replied, "Well, I am not too familiar with the changes. . . that is, more or less the ones that affect us. I don't know what the old law was. I never read it." There was also a lack of knowledge about existing and proposed parks within their jurisdiction. Before their master plan was used during the interview, specific reference was made to a developed neighborhood outside of the city limits. The question was raised as to whether park space had been designated or had been proposed within their master plan and the answer was, "Well, I imagine they had to provide park areas there when they subdivided that land into subdivisions. . . According to the state law, you know." The same inquiry was made concerning another developed neighborhood. This resulted in the following responses: "Well, there is one there but I think. . . in the general subdivision I think there are a dozen or more." . . . "They are not designated. I do not know where they are at. We would have to have the plats of the whole area."

. . . "Of the parks that are there I think the ground has been purchased by the fire department, the PTA, Lions Club, to develop for that purpose." At one time during the interview, a commissioner's curiosity was aroused and he left to check the office where the deeds are registered to find out what areas had been set aside for parks. He returned and pointed out on a large wall map the areas which have been set aside for parks. In an attempt to find out how many of these parks had been developed, the author received the following response: "That I don't know. That is a good question. I am glad you came up with it. I am going to look into it." Although the board might have been interested in community planning and were willing to participate on the city-county planning board, they knew little or nothing about what parks existed or were planned.

Without being asked a direct question concerning the purpose or function of the planning board, a commissioner volunteered: ". . . as I understand, the planning board is an advisory group." When the master plan was more directly considered it was evaluated, as already quoted above, as serving only as a guide. In other words, the commissioners were aware of the legal status of the master plan in that it does not provide for the regulation of mandatory powers

over the county or city government.

No indications were given that the changes of the state planning law would negatively affect their further planning activities. "They (referring to the community) welcome the advice," one commissioner said, "and after the master plan is accepted by the state and comes in force; why (there is) one of the provisions of the state planning whereby before they take in additional subdivisions, and so forth, they will consult the planning board for their approval first before they take the area in and . . . what degree of development the subdivision or fringe area around the town shall be in before the city shall accept them." To be considered in relation to this comment is the already-mentioned fact that one of the commissioners was looking forward to a meeting of the planning board.

The responses indicate that nothing is being done, nor are there any concrete plans in the future to acquire, to maintain, or to develop parks. ". . . who would maintain it?" (a park, that is) the question was asked, "like garbage disposal, and cleaning brushes out," referring to the fact that many areas are "primitive yet." When further questioned about park development, the point was made that, "The only equipment we have would be road equipment," which the

commissioner noted was derived from a county-wide levy and then, as if talking to himself, he said, ". . . if there is a fair way of doing it I don't know," and finally adding, "we will have to give a lot of thought to it before we do anything." Further probing produced the simple reply, "Well, I think that we have to go slow on it." The fact was pointed out to the board that in the master plan a certain neighborhood had 2.1 acres of park land and that additional 2.5 acres was proposed. The question was raised as to whether the county could acquire these additional acres. The response was, "Well, at the present agitation over the new assessment rate it seems like that will have to be settled before any new. . . we can budget for any additional purposes." Park development has not been completely ignored, for the commissioners pointed out that they had talked about it, but budget considerations, garbage disposal problems, and the like, had been such that nothing specific had been done about park development. Other county problems seem to have a priority over park development. Asked toward the end of the interview if they wished to add anything, one commissioner replied, "No, I figure in the planning situation and developing of the area there are many things to consider and many problems to be dealt with. There are the junk yards, old car bodies

that mess up the area. As I say, we are busy on other things, primarily the new assessment program. It takes a major (part) of our time, that we haven't got to get." When they were asked if their county will somehow provide parks in the future, the reply was, "I think so. It is a slow and progressive kind of plodding thing. We want to get things right as we go along and not have to tear down and re-do it. I don't think (it) should be a crash program, (nor that) it has to come right now. We will take these things one by one. Maybe with the help of some of the service clubs we are going to get there. . . Yeah, I think we will get there. I am looking forward to it. I don't imagine I will live that long, but I think we are making steady progress all the time."

The budget and their new assessment problems were constantly a part of the responses given. During the discussion on park acquisition the point was made that provision for public parks would have to become a budget item before the county could acquire park land. "Would that be a difficult process," the question was asked, "to create that budget?" The response again referred to "the new assessment and in attacking the program the people are voting down extra levies. We have a very active tax-payer's association that is scrutinizing every appropriation. In fact, we went through

our budgets last year with a fine tooth comb and we are trying to hold (costs) down to the very minimum because we did not know what the tax situation was going to develop to."

The suggestion was made that the county should purchase land now, in these undeveloped future subdivisions, to avoid the late cost rise when they do become developed. "Well, as I've said before," was the reply, "this new assessment or evaluation they were going to do at present, we are having a lot of static on it, and now at this time it is a little premature to consider budgeting for parks." Again, he continued to place the responsibility on the city to make sure that the developed suburban areas have enough park space set aside before the city will permit their annexation. ". . .It is primarily a city problem," he said, "in taking in these areas that they conform with the state laws in regards to the parks." The question was either completely missed or obviously avoided.

However, the commissioners have been, and seem willing to donate their equipment to other groups and organizations who wish to develop recreational facilities. The Lions and Boosters Clubs were mentioned as organizations that have done a great deal to develop an athletic field and playground for the young people. Asked if the county



gave them any assistance the reply was: "The county has helped the Boosters Club, the schools, and so forth. The county employees and equipment has been donated. Everything is looking up. With united effort we will get there."

State law provides that whenever more than ten acres are platted a certain amount of land has to be set aside for park purposes.<sup>1</sup> Before anyone can develop his acreage, he must have his development approved by the governing body under whose jurisdiction the land is located. This is accomplished by filing a plat with the governmental body for approval. Often a developer will plat just under the maximum in order to avoid setting aside any of his land for public use. When the commissioners were asked if this has taken place within their community, the response was: "Yes, that has been common practice in the past." Questioned as to what they could do about this practice the response was: "Well, with a fellow owning additional land I suppose we could refuse his plat and make him subdivide an area where it would be large enough that park facilities would have to be provided for." Another commissioner replied, "Well, ah, there must be at least a dozen or more subdivisions

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<sup>1</sup>Revised Codes of Montana, Volume 1, Title 11, Chapter 602, p. 580.

in that M\_\_\_\_\_ area and they are platted out in small tracts with no parks set aside." Further discussion led to the statement: "If a fellow only has a three-acre tract, what are you going to do? You know what I mean, you can't force him into setting aside parks. If he had forty acres, say, you could turn down the tract until he conforms."

The question was raised as to whether the county could acquire property for park purposes through delinquent taxes. The response was that it is usually poor ground. ". . . We haven't found anything yet that would be good." "If it goes back on taxes it is usually pretty terrible land . . . . You might get something in the shabby part of town, but it would only be a lot and what can you do with them parts?" ". . . worked out gravel pits or of a similar nature." Therefore, delinquent tax land was ruled out as potential park land.

#### COMMUNITY B

The author encountered an unexpected and shocking experience during the interview of the board in this community. Reference was made to their published master plan by stating that they were all familiar with it. The response was, "Ah, actually this is the first time I have

ever seen it." The other members of the board chimed in, "No," and "Never seen it before." The author's copy was passed around. A commissioner looking at it asked, "Who compiled the statistics in . . . ah, students?" He was informed that it was done by a professional planner. Later in the interview a commissioner remarked, "Well, we've seen parts of this. I didn't recognize the cover, but we've seen parts of this." The question was asked, "So you actually do not have complete copies of that plan as such?" "No, we don't," was the answer, "That is the first time I have ever seen it." Another agreed, "Me, too." "I don't ever recall," the third remarked, "that we had any of these copies. I do recall, I think, once seeing it." One explanation for this, among others, is that none of the board members interviewed were commissioners during the development and publication of the master plan. The community had experienced a financial crisis and a political upheaval resulting in the election of new members to the board. Their memories having been somewhat refreshed, one commissioner did recall that meetings were conducted with the city but that a few county officials were against county planning and zoning. He concluded by saying, "I don't know who paid (for) or published this (master plan)."

It was impossible to keep the respondents away from discussing zoning problems whenever reference was made to the master plan. Zoning is only one aspect of planning and has little to do in establishing planned parks. Being unaware of even the existence of their master plan, they were also obviously not aware of the parks proposed within that plan.

The major concern of the board was to overcome their existing financial crisis. It had priority above all other problems and issues. When asked if they had ever given park acquisition and development any consideration the answer was, "I would have to say absolutely not. It is very difficult in here. The state auditor had to come in and check our financial standing and we have had no time to give to parks." Another commissioner added, ". . .the big problem of the county is finance; we are trying to get this thing . . . get our heads above water so to speak. And we have a 'hell of a time.' It's kept us all busy. Sometimes day and night." To make certain that a response was properly interpreted, the question was asked, "So the county does have some money designated for park purposes?" The reply was, "No, no, we don't," with another member adding, "No, until very recently we didn't have money for anything. We

had to go to (the state government) to borrow money to pay the help."

During the entire interview no negative indications toward planning were expressed. However, the lack of knowledge about their master plan was such that it can be said, without being facetious, that they did not know enough about planning to be negative. They, nevertheless, did say that should the city and the planning board wish to begin their planning function they would be willing to cooperate. However, the initiative was not to come from them. "Those over there (referring to the city) wanted to get this going again. They called a meeting and we were to be there, but the last meeting was called off. We had it scheduled and they (planning board) called it off." Later, as an afterthought, one commissioner replied, "Now you know, I think these two gentlemen agree with me. What we've been waiting for is for these people to bring this plan before us, but they've never done it." Asked if a planning board presently existed in their community the reply was, "No, not that I know of." . . . "They have talked about it and as I have said before they tried to call this meeting. Mr. J\_\_\_\_\_ and others were on that board, but if they still exist as a planning board or not, I don't know."

The commissioners also had little or no knowledge of the events or subsequent changes of the state's planning laws.

The insolvency problem was a constant concern for the board. Pressing the issue of park development, a commissioner reiterated, ". . .the debt, . . .is being worked on, but we still are in debt. . .When we are completely solvent and are able to increase our amounts of money then we would have the resources with which we could (go) about the idea of trying to find parks, so on and so forth. Isn't that the idea of the consensus of the board?" General agreement was expressed.

There are no county parks as such; however, one commissioner did say that equipment had been supplied to some extent. This comment produced the quick reply, "They did to a certain extent during the previous administration." Implied that (this procedure) is not favored during the present administration, and further pointing out that (the county does) not have facilities to maintain parks. Nevertheless, the comment was made, "You see, rather than have just a maintenance crew, we did have at one time a recreational director for the county." They expressed uncertainty as to whether or not to establish this position again.

The problem of platting was also raised, but the board seemed not too sure as to what their legal rights were in regard to this procedure. Out of the platting discussion emerged the fact that land is often made available to the county through delinquent tax deeds, and through reversion of property to the county via their welfare program. The suggestion that this may result in making land available for parks was countered with the argument that it has to be put up for public sale. "Every county citizen has a right to request it to be brought up for sale." There was some discussion as to whether it was possible for the board of county commissioners to set aside this land for park purposes, but the general attitude was that the land's reverting to the county would have to be put up for public sale or auction. Further probing produced the statement, "These are technicalities we have to analyze and be briefed on. Until we do so, these problems of acquiring land for parks is somewhat premature." To be careful not to offend the public was the chief concern expressed regarding the issue of using this land for park purposes. The consensus was that if a citizen wanted the land for private purposes, he should have the right to buy it.

It is safe to conclude that the proposed parks of

their master plan have little chance of becoming available to the community through the efforts of this board.

City-county consolidation had been defeated at the polls in this community just prior to the interview. There was unanimous opposition by the commissioners to city-county consolidation. "I'll just phrase it this way," one commissioner remarked, "it's an abominable law. It's an abomination to force consolidation on people." Another pointed out that others were of the opinion that it would wreck the two-party system. The board followed this subject voluntarily with the discussion of city annexation. Their economic problems had made the board sensitive to taxable values. One member pointed out that the city had taken in more territory from the county and was automatically reaping the rewards. City-county consolidation and annexation were considered to be "dirty words".

All of the members agreed that planning, however they defined that word, was good. The most active member among the commissioners would constantly refer to zoning whenever planning was in any way discussed. It seemed that to him planning and zoning were synonymous. More will be said about this later in this chapter.

One member summarized the general position of the



board with a vague political-type statement, "As said before, a county in debt has to take care of other things first. This planning is wonderful, but we must not bleed the taxpayers, and this is my opinion." Thus, the issue of park acquisition and development had been technically avoided.

### COMMUNITY C

The map in Appendix IV will point out the park areas proposed in the master plan of this community.

A favorable attitude toward planning was expressed. "You see, it's following a plan, you will avoid such mistakes as having some businesses, such as noisy, stinky businesses . . . something like that in a residential district. And you know in advance what's going to be if you plan properly. You know in advance what's going to be in a certain particular area and if you know that there's a reason there, that there's supposed to be manufacturing, you don't figure on establishing a home in that region, you see. And you know where to locate your schools. . . . You know about where to locate your hospital and things like that." The concept of planning and zoning, as in the other interviews, was somewhat confused.

The board was well aware of the legal happenings

within the state in regard to community planning. As far as they were concerned, these happenings have now cleared up the past problems and future planning could be facilitated. However, to their regret, planning had come to a halt. When asked, ". . .has the plan (master plan) itself helped to make any of your decisions as a county board?" The responses were: "I don't think so." "The way things have worked out, I don't think it has had a chance. You see, it was declared unconstitutional and then they tried to trim it (up) at the last legislation, and the county commissioners were agreeable to participate in a joint program with the city. But the city hasn't decided yet to come in, so at the present time, there's . . . the plan is just dormant. There is no plan." Question: "So this particular existing published plan cannot operate?" "No, it cannot. It has no teeth whatever. It has no bearing whatever." Asked if the city is holding it up the answer was, "Oh, yes. We're ready, and have been ready for years. Just about a year ago now we notified the city we were ready to go on it. We even appointed our board. Prematurely, we found out, for we didn't think there would be any possible chance of their turning it down, but they did. They turned it down and have been turning it down ever since. But we did notify

them we had our board appointed and ready to go with it." The reasons given for the city's reluctance were ". . . that if we had such a board as this here, (planning board) it would hem the city in so that they couldn't expand . . . which is ridiculous. There's no place in there (referring to the master plan) that says the city can't expand. That's one of their big arguments." Another commissioner suggested, "Tell him about the personalities in it too."

This produced a discussion on a personality problem between the city and the county. The facts disclosed were that a former city fireman was placed in charge of the county's rural fire department. This particular fireman was the county's appointment to the planning board. This created, on the part of the city, the fear that he would attempt to do everything possible to hurt the city. That the fireman had any such intention was, of course, denied by the commissioners.

When asked how they would use the master plan, a commissioner made a quick reply. He said that the function of the plan was, "purely advisory"; but that they would certainly give the master plan their consideration and were willing to spend, "maybe four and five thousand dollars to bring it up to date." All of this indicates the

commissioner's favorable acceptance of the master plan and the concept of planning.

Setting up the budget every year was considered their most important function. County roads and welfare were other activities which were discussed.

Asked if they had any parks in the county the reply was, "We have parks in practically every addition that have been created for the past twenty years. We have. . .our own neighborhood park. . .small most of them. I would say around two acres, five acres, sometimes 10 acres, and we have them all over the county, whenever there has been any additions." Concerning the development of these parks, however, the statement was made, "We figure on the neighborhood developing the parks. On our neighborhood parks, we figure that they can do the job. Now, we do loan, if they'll pay the driver, and so forth. . .the gasoline. We would have to have him go in there and work Saturday and Sunday and they level it off and do the work that is necessary and develop themselves. It's good for (the) community to have the responsibility." . . ."You see, these parks are neighborhood parks primarily. They're not county, as a whole, parks. I don't (know) any one that is what you might refer to as a county park. The county in name, the county own . . .

except when the city. . .if we got a piece of land, the city incorporates that, we usually give that piece. . .turn it over to the city."

Suggesting the creation of a park board in the future was countered with the remark that, "There are no plans at the present time. . ." He felt that it was somewhat premature. This finally brought out the discussion that State law does not permit the county to spend enough money on park development. "It was twenty-five hundred (dollars), now they raised it to five thousand"<sup>2</sup> which, it was felt would not be enough for the county to maintain parks.

With regard to the problem of platting, the commissioners gave the following response: "I think a lot of them have taken that into consideration under ten acres, to keep from getting a park. And a lot of them have platted acreage which is. . .not enough for a park. If it's in acre lots or more, they don't have to plat or put a park in." "Well, I think (the) law is that, that is, ah, if they got a (n) area of a certain size, certain portions of it is gonna be parks. And I don't think we've designated what areas would be for parks. I don't think we've ever done that." And

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<sup>2</sup>Revised Codes of Montana, Volume 4, Title 62, Section 102.

again, "We don't hold a thing. If they comply with the acreage, that's it. We can't tell them where." "We don't know whether that is all the land they have or if they're just doing it deliberately. We just can't tell."

The responses thus far indicate that these commissioners, not interested in developing the existing parks, will not be inclined to use their influence in securing and developing the proposed parks of their master plan.

The idea of planning, as they understood the meaning of the term, was favored by the three boards. A commissioner in Community A was a participant on their planning board. The commissioners of Community C said that they have been trying to get their planning board activated and blamed attitudes and actions of the city as the reason for their failure to do so. The commissioners of Community B expressed their willingness to participate if the others, namely, the city or the planning board, would initiate the activity.

As already noted, planning and zoning was often confused by these respondents. This factor, therefore, has to be taken into consideration in evaluating the commissioners' attitude toward planning. Although planning and zoning are closely related, their distinction is important. Robert

Averill Walker has discussed the confusion between zoning and planning. He states that the creation of a land-use plan is not zoning. A zoning ordinance, he continues, is not a plan or a part of a plan; it is a legal tool for carrying out a plan once it has been determined.<sup>3</sup> Historically, zoning is an outgrowth of the ancient Common Law of Nuisances, which rests upon the principle that no person should be permitted so to use his property as to cause injury to others.<sup>4</sup> With the advent of planning the United States Courts have digested the newer idea of zoning as an aspect of planning and have decreasingly relied upon nuisance considerations as the justification for zoning. In other words, the accepted land-use plan, regardless of the element of nuisance, will operate to create legally sound areas. This operates, not simply to eliminate the bad, but helps to create and maintain the good. As an example, an area designated as park space within a master plan accepted by the government would zone that area for park purposes.

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<sup>3</sup>Robert Averill Walker, The Planning Function in Urban Government, (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 49.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

Nothing else could be established with that area. This positive concept of zoning has been considered a most significant modern trend in the law related to planning.<sup>5</sup>

It is difficult from the interview data to determine exactly what concept of either planning or zoning is being considered when the terms were used by the respondents. However, the data does present evidence to show that their concept of zoning seems to be of the negative type.

The commissioners appear to accept more readily the master plan whenever it seems to relate to their concept of zoning, but find it more difficult to accept when it deals with other concepts. Zoning, of course, is an established and accepted governmental function, whereas the planning of parks and the subsequent need to acquire and to develop them is a new concept, and an unfamiliar governmental function, not easily accepted nor adopted.

The judicial and legislative actions taken by the state relative to community planning did not seem to effect the planning function of Community A. But, Communities B and C found these events to be the beginning of the end of

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 60 and See: 182 Wis. 143; 196 N.W. 451; 234 Pac. 361.



planning. However, other circumstances, such as inter-governmental rivalry, county insolvency, and the issue of city-county consolidation also aided in bringing a complete halt to the temporary stop caused by the judicial and legislative events of the state.

There was general agreement among all three boards that the acquisition and development of parks was not an immediate function of the county; they considered it only reluctantly as a possible future function. In one case, the considered future was beyond the commissioner's lifetime.

None of the boards had parks whose care and maintenance they considered to be their direct responsibility; nor did they give serious consideration to the possibility of setting up the machinery to take care of parks. In this respect, state law may have to be changed to give the counties the power to budget adequate funds to support a park board and maintenance crew and to provide additional funds to acquire land for parks.

In all three communities there had been a willingness on the part of the county to permit the use of its equipment in the development of outdoor recreational facilities. However, some strings were attached, such as

the payment for the operator and the gas. The board of Community B seemed hesitant to continue this practice. For the counties to develop park areas on their own initiative was out of the question. Other organizations, groups and neighborhoods would have to carry out the projects.

Through neglect, the author failed to raise the delinquent tax-land issue during the last interview. The first board interviewed indicated that this land was generally not suitable for park purposes. The board of Community B felt that the public's right to purchase this land had priority. They were uncertain as to whether or not they did have the legal right to set this land aside for parks. The indication given is that this is not a good source of park land. However, further inquiry should be made before this can be established as a fact.

The three boards were in accord with the opinion that little could be done about the practice of many developers who would plat just below the maximum acreage to avoid the setting aside of park space. Indication was also given that if the acreage required the setting aside of park space, the board would do little to require provision for an area which would be suitable for a park. However, one

board felt that its engineer is careful not to allow this to happen. It would seem that stricter adherence to the platting laws could aid in providing for parks in areas being developed on the fringes of our cities.

As a general conclusion, the findings indicate that existing county government does not have the ability, as presently constituted, to acquire and develop planned municipal parks.

The issue of city-county consolidation is of interest in that many writers maintain that community planning, to be effective, will require the dissolution of the multi-governmental structure of the urban communities.<sup>6</sup> Although city-county consolidation was not considered during the first interview, the last two boards were much opposed to the idea. ". . .We've got those 1923 obsolete laws, over forty years old, which would make consolidation of the city and county impractical and, if not impossible, at the present time. . .", was the comment made by a board member during the last interview. The mayor of the city of Community B stated that he actively campaigned against city-county consolidation. "I told the people," he said, "that you

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<sup>6</sup>Webster, op. cit., p. 26

cannot place a bad apple next to a good apple and expect the bad apple to come out good. Both of them will become bad." When asked to explain his statement, he pointed out that the city was in good order, but the county, facing bankruptcy, was in real trouble, and he could not see why the city should bail out the county.

The chance interview with this mayor provided other interesting facts. He showed no interest in the published city-county master plan. He was more interested in an independent city plan which he enthusiastically displayed. At one point during the interview, he explained a large sewage project which was under study by both the city and the county. This discussion made it possible to point out that there were, and in the future might be, more things which would need city-county planning. He agreed, but continued to point out the need for city planning alone, which was what they had already done.

The question was raised as to whether their planning board was presently functioning? He did not know for sure; he had not heard of their meeting, and he thought that they were defunct. When asked if they should be activated, his reply was that at present the county was busy getting itself out of the hole, and the city definitely had enough to do

to keep it busy. As mayor, he believed that he should know that the city was busy, and stated that a planning board could not do much for them.

A lawyer and member of the planning board which created the master plan of Community B was also briefly interviewed. He pointed out that many of the original members of the planning board were not in the community anymore. In his opinion, a new board to be legal, would have to be created by new appointments. He also indicated that since one of the major industries of the community has lost interest in planning, nobody else would maintain it.

One can, therefore, conclude that as far as Community B was concerned its master plan will not be given consideration by the county nor city. It may take a long time, if ever, for them to continue city-county planning.

By simple reasoning one can deduce that if the master plan was not accepted, the chances for the parks proposed therein were indeed slim.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

This chapter will discuss the problems of urban planning, and the recommended solutions as presented in the literature reviewed in an attempt to provide possible solutions to the problems revealed in the findings.

In a sense, urban planning is an attempt to control and to guide the economic expansion of our cities. This expansion takes in large areas. It is a force which is not bound to political confinement and soon expands beyond existing political boundaries. The result is a "violent disjuncture in scale between political organization and the aggregated results of economic organization--that is, between the political city and the socioeconomic city."<sup>1</sup> Another author maintains that, "spreading area-wide problems cannot be handled, geographic piece by geographic piece. They must be tackled in their entirety, comprehensively, and are difficult enough even so."<sup>2</sup> The writers generally

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<sup>1</sup>Scott Greer, The Emerging City: Myth and Reality (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 175.

<sup>2</sup>Luther Halsey Gulick, The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 24.

agree, 1) that planning, to be effective, must take into consideration the entire area of expansion regardless of the division created by governmental units, 2) that if such area-wide planning is to be effective, it needs the support of a governmental unit which has jurisdiction of the entire area, and 3) that planning must become more than an advisory organ of the expanded governmental unit.

. . . Everyone of these problems spreads out over an area broader than the boundaries of the local governments in question. It is clear that our big urban complexes are now so closely tied together economically, socially, and structurally by daily human movements and activities that every problem is a "spill-over" from the next jurisdiction. Little can be done about one piece of such a problem. Once an indivisible problem is divided, nothing effective can be done about it.

This is especially true as to the entire circulation and mass-transportation system, the water supply, air and water pollution, and land-use control. Once these jobs are split up into fractions, they are undoable, like trying to leap across a river in two jumps or mop up a part of a spilled bottle of milk on the kitchen floor.<sup>3</sup>

Although the problem discussed by these writers may not be so difficult and complex within the communities considered in this paper, the problem of division of authority among governmental units does exist. The hyphenated "city-county" master plan is evidence of potential intra-govern-

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

mental problems. The problem of governmental rivalry is considered one of the major difficulties in bringing sound plans into existence. We are told that it is difficult, once governmental units are established, to dissolve them into larger, more effective units. Suburban leaders and professional politicians have a vested interest in their governmental unit which they are not likely to relinquish easily. The professional politician, we are told, is like any other professional; he is in business to succeed and dominate his field.<sup>4</sup> This point must be kept in mind--the public must be made to understand that the best way to get needed community projects established is by voluntary cooperation among the various existing governmental units. This is also easier said than done. One writer makes the candid confession:

We sought to consolidate mature political entities by their own volition, when we should have known that this is contrary to the laws of political biology. It is just as silly as asking a chick to go back into its egg. We relied on local initiative when we should have known that such initiative is effectively disqualified outside its own established community. . . . We assumed that we could, by words, call into being

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<sup>4</sup>Edward Higbee, The Squeeze: Cities Without Space, (New York: William Marrow and Company, 1960), pp. 315-316.



a broad metropolitan "community consciousness", forgetting that such a community, to be politically effective, can arise normally only on the foundation of a legal constituency with real work to do.<sup>5</sup>

Another author is convinced that the plans produced by metropolitan planning cannot be implemented by the many separate governmental units within the metropolitan area without a good deal more coordination than those units are likely to achieve by voluntary cooperation.<sup>6</sup>

This is substantiated by the animosity expressed, during the interview, by two of the boards toward their city government. The board of Community B was particularly hostile to the city's attempt at annexation, and city-county consolidation was ruled out of the question; the idea was considered an abomination. Personality conflicts between county and city officials was a reason suggested, in Community C, as preventing further city-county planning.

The conclusion reached is that if a metropolitan community really exists, that community should have a general government through which to plan and to implement

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<sup>5</sup>Luther Halsey Gulick, The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 32.

<sup>6</sup>Harvey S. Perloff (ed), Planning and the Urban Community, (Carnegie Institute of Technology: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), pp. 99-100.

the plans. We delude ourselves or we generate more difficulties, one author insists, if we try to do metropolitan planning without first facing up to the tough political problem of establishing a government with appropriate jurisdiction.<sup>7</sup>

The modern suburb, as noted in Chapter One, does not produce the aristocratic civic-minded citizen of the past who provided parks and other public facilities. The interest of the real estate developer in the suburb is self-interest; he wants to make as much profit as possible. The bulk of the acreage is being developed and little remains for park use. The platting practice of the communities interviewed is evidence of this fact. Who but the government will, and can produce needed parks if the economic interests are such that private individuals will not produce parks? Private civic organizations cannot very well develop public parks, although they may contribute to meeting the need of outdoor recreation. They have limited resources and interests which do not extend to aid the developed suburban neighborhoods. This has been the contention of the writers on the development of public parks.

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

Some developers have discovered that parks help in the sale of homes at better prices. Furthermore, they have found that the net profit has been such that the expense of the developed parks has been a worthwhile investment.<sup>8</sup> However, the literature reviewed indicates that most developers are not aware of this fact. They do many things to avoid setting aside the necessary land. This is verified in the findings on admitted platting practices. With added platting requirements or stricter adherence to existing requirements, more park space could be provided. Here again politics and government are the source through which these expectations can be realized.

Some communities have realized the value of public parks. The argument has been made that the values lost through the deterioration of a community without parks is greater than their cost.<sup>9</sup> The publication--American City--discussed a county whose park development had been a great stimulus to home-building. This increased building caused a rapid rise in the county's assessed valuations. It was

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<sup>8</sup>A. Thornton Bishop, "A Park Program Is A County's Insurance Policy," American City, Vol. 64, April, 1949, p. 143.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

estimated that the tax revenue from the increased valuations, directly traceable to park development, was such that it could have paid for the entire cost of the park in a five-year period.<sup>10</sup> Facts like these should stimulate less progressive communities to develop needed park facilities. Although some of these facts were suggested during the interview, their significance was lost because of the commissioners' preoccupation with other needs and problems.

Unlike the city, which is a municipal corporation chartered by the state with power to legislate and control its local affairs, the county is a civil division of the state without the power to legislate. The county is merely an administrative arm of the state. Traditionally, the municipal corporations are to govern the urban centers of the state, while the county serves the state in governing the remaining rural areas. Therefore, the county is a rural-oriented government. Since the growth of the cities has gone beyond its incorporated limits, the county has been faced with municipal problems to which they have a difficult time adjusting. Park acquisition and development is only one phase of these newly acquired responsibilities

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 91.

of the county.

Since the county was unable to provide the municipal services required by the developed suburbs, and since these suburbs were unwilling to become involved in the "dirty politics" of the incorporated city which they would have been subjected to through annexation, they created the "special district" to provide the needed municipal services.<sup>11</sup> These "special districts" have increased the complex divisions of government in metropolitan areas. Webster, in Urban Planning and Municipal Policy, stated that the average number of units of government per metropolitan district was in excess of one hundred and ten.<sup>12</sup> The multiplication of these special-purpose districts is additional evidence of the county's inability to provide the governmental needs of the growing suburbs. Marion Clawson points out that the new suburb often has a weak political organization which is strained to its maximum to supply the demand for water supply, sewage disposals, schools, police, fire protection and the like. Supplying these demands makes it necessary to postpone any

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<sup>11</sup> Greer, op. cit., p. 186.

<sup>12</sup> Donal Haphins Webster, Urban Planning and Municipal Policy, (New York: Harper, 1953), p. 26.

consideration for park and recreational areas.<sup>13</sup> This raises the question: Who is going to secure the parks planned in the fringe areas of our cities? The city has no jurisdiction, the county little interest, and the special district lacks the economic and political means.

The county's problem with expanding cities has been with us for some time. It is certainly interesting that in the year 1927, in the state of Pennsylvania, the Commission to Study Municipal Consolidation in Counties of the Second Class reported the following to the Governor of the State:

It is the purpose of the Commission to provide a form of government for all governmental and municipal functions by enlarging and developing the county government as it now is to such a point that where more than one municipality is affected, there can be a genuine, unified force and to coordinate all underlying efforts--not to abolish existing institutions without proper reason, but to multiply their accomplishments by the elimination of duplications, overlaps and conflicts of authority, to the end that their united effort shall result in vastly improved service, with constructive economy and scientific efficiency.

All of this points to the fact that the traditional role of county government is inadequate in the establish-

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<sup>13</sup>Marion Clawson, Changing Patterns of Land Use In The West, (Washington, D. C.: Resources for the Future, 1960), p. 223.

ment of metropolitan parks. Sites which are desirable for parks are often adjacent to the homes and country clubs of the more affluent and influential citizens. These citizens are not anxious to have a large influx of strangers enter their communities on the very days in which they expect to enjoy their leisure and peace. At the same time, with reference to large park areas, these citizens are not willing to be taxed to pay for recreation services which perhaps would primarily be used by non-residents. Let us note here that governmental action is determined for the most part by the sentiments of its constituents.<sup>14</sup> The findings revealed an undercurrent of concern on the part of the commissioners for their public image. Reelection, of course, is important to all politicians.

Not only the expansion of urban centers, but also the advent of planning has challenged the traditional role of the county politicians. Having dealt primarily with rural problems, the commissioners are faced with the unconventional demands of urban growth and urban planning. The

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<sup>14</sup>(O.R.R.R.C. Study Report), 21, Vol. 1, p. 46, Washington, D. C., 1962.

success of planning and urban expansion will depend upon the degree and swiftness with which the county politician will adjust to meet these new demands. This is not only a struggle to keep urban growth orderly; it is a political struggle with private interests. Furthermore, it is a struggle between political jurisdictions to define the needed political role to take care of these new developments. This conflict has been well described by Marion Clawson:

Planners and public servants usually cannot directly undertake creation and stimulation of interest groups, without getting out of their proper role and thus risking serious criticism. But they can work with present leaders of such groups and sometimes they can stimulate alert and interested citizens to enter such a leadership role. The basic requirement is that they recognize the essentially political nature of the problem and do their best within the limits of their position to cope with it.<sup>15</sup>

Clawson also pointed out that in the planning and creating of the federal parks there were considerable threats made on the integrity of the few dedicated people who supported the park programs in the earliest years. Now no sane politician would dare suggest major intrusion

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<sup>15</sup> Marion Clawson, "A Positive Approach to Open Space Preservation", (The American Institute of Planners, Vol. 28, No. 2, 1962), p. 129.



on a national park.<sup>16</sup> The same result may be predicted as far as the local politician is concerned in the planning and developing of urban parks. To accomplish these predictions, one aspect of the new political role may require the commissioners to make the master plan more than an advisory instrument.

A possible immediate step would be to grant the existing county governments added legal powers. As has already been suggested, a more rigorous platting law would be one example of a progressive measure. Another forward step would be to increase the amount of money allocated by the state to the county for park maintenance. To minimize the problem created by the multiple governmental units of the expanding municipal areas, the state's city-county consolidation code should be modernized in order to make it more acceptable to these communities. The code would have to become less abominable and less ancient according to the response of the commissioners. City-county consolidation would put the economic unit of the area under one political jurisdiction with the possibility of greater resources being

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 128.

made available to enhance the chances for park development.

Experts in the field maintain that what is required is a complete change in the existing form and jurisdiction of government. For the purpose of this paper, let us simply consider government as the structure or framework through which society directs its activities. It is the machinery whereby a community controls and directs its development and growth as well as an organized means through which a community maintains a degree of harmony and cooperation among the various activities of the society or community. Burns and Peltason in the preface of their book Government By the People: The Dynamics of American National Government, have considered government as "a cluster of ideas, interests, institutions, and individuals many in number intricately interrelated, often tangled and untidy."<sup>17</sup> The laws on the other hand exist to define the limits of this structure, or form, and politics provides the dynamics for operation. Politics gives it life and personality. To use a crude analogy, the laws determine the shape, size and physical

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<sup>17</sup> James McGregor Burns and Jack Walter Peltason, Government By the People: The Dynamics of American National Government, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), Preface I.

aspect of the body of government. Politics, on the other hand, is the other side of the physical organism; it is the personality of the governmental body. Another way of clarifying the relationship is to say that it is the laws which are the defined guides describing the structure and form of the government. The laws do describe in part and place limits on the role to be played by the politician within the framework of government. Dahl and Lindblom define law in these words: "Codification is the reduction and unification to more or less self-consistent principles (from the point of view of those who accept the code as valid) of hitherto disorderly and unsystematized propositions."<sup>18</sup> The law which interests us here is the law of the state which MacIver considered the Legal law that courts interpret and apply. Robert A. Dahl has pointed out that "whenever a political system is complex and stable, political roles develop. Perhaps the most obvious political roles are played by persons who create, interpret, and enforce rules that are binding on members of the political system. These roles are 'offices', and the collection of offices in a political system is what constitutes the government of that

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<sup>18</sup>Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, Politics, Economics and Welfare, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 66.

system.<sup>19</sup> Max Weber has postulated that an association of its order is carried out continually within a given territorial area by the application and threat of physical force on the part of the administrative staff."<sup>20</sup>

It is difficult to differentiate clearly between government, law and politics. The American political governmental system is complex and its various components are difficult to separate.

Dahl and Lindblom consider the American democratic governmental system a polyarchy. A brief discussion of this political concept should further aid the reader in understanding the complex nature of our political system as it attempts to perform the task of planning.

"Polyarchy is a process, sometimes called democracy, in which non-leaders control leaders."<sup>21</sup> Basically, the concept is a government where the "last say" rests with the

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<sup>19</sup>Robert A. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 11.

<sup>20</sup>Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 154.

<sup>21</sup>Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, Politics, Economics and Welfare, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 23.

general public who express their preferences via their votes.<sup>22</sup> Dahl and Lindblom maintain that if any rationally calculated action (planning) is to be successful, it will depend upon the understanding and acceptance of the citizens; for it is "their faiths, and attitudes--in fact upon its culture as a whole--as well as upon fortuitous circumstances" which will determine its success.

...the responsiveness of leaders in polyarchies is a good deal more complicated than a simple function of their expectation of votes in the next election. But,...there can be no doubt that this expectation keeps them highly responsive, sometimes astonishingly so. The fear that a bloc of voters will support the opposition in the next election if not given at least some of what it wants; the desire to forestall criticism; the realization that a legislative alliance might crumble if a leader chooses one policy rather than another; the willingness to listen to pressure groups; the abruptness with which some obscure matter suddenly becomes high policy because a group here or there is making a row over it; the sensitivity to charges and the need for countercharges--all are clearly evident in the behavior of polyarchal leaders and all are testimony to the need such leaders feel to respond to ordinary citizens and subleaders.<sup>23</sup>

Another related aspect of polyarchy is discussed as follows:

If one examines the operation of polyarchy and imaginatively penetrates the obvious appearances of free speech, the operation of the press, parties

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 285.

elections, and defeated governments voluntarily abdicating office, at last one discovers an underlying factor on which this entire structure depends. It is the consciences, norms, and habits of the people in the society, leaders and non-leaders alike. For it is these that define what uses of control are legitimate and what are illegitimate; what behavior is acceptable and what is not. And if these definitions, commands, permissions, and approvals prescribed by the norms, habits and consciences of the people are not appropriate to polyarchy, then no written constitutions, no guarantees, no prescribed codes, no laws will achieve it. To be sure, constitutional symbols and prescriptions are helpful. But if political leaders and non-leaders alike were not indoctrinated to believe deeply, for example, that it is profoundly immoral for a defeated government to attempt to stay in office, then no constitutional prohibition against their staying would be workable. Indeed, to endure through periods of crisis, decade after decade, from one generation to the next, the norms and habits must be built into the very depths of the unconscious so that the temptations to avoid fundamental requirements hardly rise into question. A nation that begins seriously to discuss whether there will ever be another election is not likely to have one.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, we recognize that the forces acting upon politics, government and law are manifold. With this discussion of the political process as a background, city-county planning as a governmental endeavor will be discussed more specifically.

The consensus of the writers is that in order to make planning effective the entire economic unity of the metropolitan community should be placed under one political

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 287-288.

jurisdiction. As referred to earlier, this would eliminate the inter-governmental rivalries and make the entire community's resources available for the benefit of all. Proposed parks would most likely have a greater chance of coming into existence if this kind of government could be achieved.

In considering further the complex forces within a political community which can make desirable facilities available, planning itself must be accepted by the existing government regardless of the scope of its jurisdiction or form.

The relationship between urban planning and metropolitan government is still in a state of flux. The concern in the formative stages of urban planning was with the trained professional planner who did not want to get involved in the problems of politics and government. The governmental officials at the same time were suspicious of the professional planner. Thus, planning was set up, not to impinge on the authority of either the executive or the legislative branch, but as a necessary aid. The planning function was carried on by a separate board or commission advisory to both governmental bodies. Planning was not to be a completely independent function. Nevertheless, it was to remain separate from

the governmental functions.<sup>25</sup> This concept of the relationship between planning and government is maintained within the planning code of the state of Montana. However, the contention now is that the planning office should be within the structure of government as a direct arm of the executive officer.<sup>26</sup> The argument is sometimes made that placing planning under the direction of an independent commission protects it from political control and domination by the executive.<sup>27</sup> However, the city of Chicago has by experience arrived at a different conclusion, for in January of 1957 an ordinance became effective which reconstituted its planning agency as a full-fledged executive department.<sup>28</sup>

Once plans do become a vital part of government, then whatever is planned, including parks, should have a better chance to materialize.

The literature has suggested that local government be empowered to acquire (or purchase), hold, use, lease, or resell land for the specific purpose of planning for future

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<sup>25</sup> Webster, op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>26</sup> Perloff., op. cit., p. 110.

<sup>27</sup> Webster, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 87.



needs and of securing recreational space.<sup>29</sup>

. . .It is axiomatic in civic planning that public lands are highly vulnerable to infringement and competition among government agencies themselves. As population pressure increases and private open space disappears, this competition will become even sharper, each agency claiming a greater need. This being universally the case, steps should be taken, before it is too late and too expensive, to acquire enough public lands for all future needs so that no legitimate facility, whether road, reservoir, school site, park, beach, or airport, need be denied for lack of space at some future date. This sounds like a large order, and it is. Open land is limited. When it is gone, it is gone forever.<sup>30</sup>

The metropolitan government in order to plan effectively for future needs, the author continues his argument, will have to go into the real estate business--not to make money, or even to save money, but to control land use. The metropolitan government will have to become a landholder, a land planner, and a land dispenser for the most vital reason of all--to assure itself of the proper organization of space.<sup>31</sup>

Political involvement in planning is stressed throughout the literature. Plans are policies, one author states;

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<sup>29</sup>Fred K. Vigman, Crisis of the Cities, (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1955), p. 59.

<sup>30</sup>Higbee, op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

policies in a democracy, at any rate, spell politics.<sup>32</sup>

The feeling is expressed that too much effort has been directed at the needed solutions with not enough consideration given to the decision-making process of the political forces.<sup>33</sup> A "city beautiful" can be expertly designed by the planners. They can create, on paper, a dream world, the reality of which is more difficult to achieve because the daily affairs of politics with all their ramifications must be mastered, unified and directed toward the proposed goal. Such unification and direction in the heterogeneous democratic process of American politics is not easily, or swiftly, achieved.

Norton E. Lang in a vivid way calls for active political participation in the field of planning with these words:

The best thing that could happen to planning is that it be taken seriously instead of accepted as a kind of elegant drawing-room accomplishment which receives the same lip service as the other unloved civic virtues. When the greasy, grimy hands of politics are laid on planning, because

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<sup>32</sup>Norton E. Lang, "Planning and Politics in Urban Development", Journal of American Institute of Planners, November, 1959, Vol. XXV, No. 4, p. 166.

<sup>33</sup>Thomas R. Dye, "Metropolitan Integration by Bargaining Among Sub-Areas", The American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. V, May, 1962, No. 9, p. 11.

it means votes, the subject and its practitioners have come of age. This means planning has come to matter.<sup>34</sup>

All along the point has been made that the uses and development of land are subject, not to some mysterious, unmanageable "natural forces", but rather to man's own institutions and practices. Now these institutions and practices can be molded and guided. What is needed are specific goals toward which we can guide the direction of our actions. The key problem, we are told, is to devise a pattern and structure of growth to accommodate all of the urban functions for the future's vastly larger metropolitan populations. Although the planning is physical, we must remind ourselves that its criteria are social and economic; its implementation must be through political means.<sup>35</sup>

The sources reviewed point out clearly that the best hope for acquiring a desirable environment for the future is a change of the present political dynamics within our society. In order for this change in political dynamics to take place, Lynton K. Caldwell believes a clear doctrine

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<sup>34</sup>Lang, op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>35</sup>John D. Howard, "Future Metropolitan Growth and Planning", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 313, Sept. 1957, p. 34.

of public responsibility of the human environment is needed. He points out that the public decision makers--legislative, administrative, or judicial--must deal with environmental questions without the help of a general body of environmental policy to which he may turn for authoritative guidance. He realizes the conflicting interests in our urban and rural lands which influence political decisions. The task of American government, he points out, is to salvage the wreckage caused by selfish interests. Public planning may be an answer. But planning alone is not enough. Plans must be executed. Action must be taken and the lack of action is considered the historical failure of planning. Accepted plans are often contrary to conventional administrative practices. New concepts of administration may be needed to fulfill planning objectives. In other words, planning cannot be separated from administration. Caldwell describes a concept which he considers includes both planning and administration:

Among the systematic theories of environmental administration now current is ekistics, "the science of human settlements", conceived and most effectively expounded by J. A. Doxiadis. Ekistics is both a general approach to environmental development and a body of specific doctrine. Doxiadis sees ekistics as a science to be developed. "We are," he declares, "only starting to grasp the need for it. . ." Derived from the Greek word

"ekos", meaning habitat, and from the verb "eko", meaning to settle down, ekistics has the same conceptual origin as economics and ecology. It is in purpose a practical discipline drawing upon the substance and methodology of the physical, biological, and social sciences for much of its basic data and directed to the problem: "How to make a settlement so as to fill the two basic requirements laid down by Aristotle: Security and Happiness."<sup>36</sup>

Caldwell considers ekistics as a theory of action which "assumes an on-going administration of the total environment in accordance with verified ecological understanding." The need for an understanding of environmental problems in comprehensive terms is stressed. Segmental public decision-making must give way to "a policy focus on environment in its fullest practicable sense," if we are to avoid the failures of the past, he contends.

Caldwell points out two factors which are necessary for a society to achieve the concept of "ekistics":

. . .First, the public must have begun to see the comprehensive environment as a legitimate and necessary field for public action. Second, means must be found for more effectively interrelating, or integrating, the tasks of the public agencies as they bear upon the environment. In both of these developments, research is needed to guide

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<sup>36</sup>Lynton K. Caldwell, "Environment: A New Focus for Public Policy", The Journal of the American Society for Public Administration, (Public Administration Review), Vol. 23, No. 3, September, 1963, pp. 132-139.

the course of action. It seems unlikely that we will find the legislative, organizational, and administrative answers to environmental development and control before we have developed the policy concepts and goals toward which our political efforts can intelligently be directed.<sup>37</sup>

The investigation of specific environmental problems is needed, Caldwell agrees, but points out that accumulating special studies must be related to a larger order of generalization, if comprehensive environmental administration is to become a reality. "For it does not follow," Caldwell continues, "that if the lesser jobs are pursued with diligence, the greater ones will take care of themselves."<sup>38</sup>

There is nothing one can add to the statements made by Caldwell. They, in themselves, summarize both the problem at hand, and they present a thought-provoking solution.

The solutions suggested above, which are contained within the reviewed literature, are of such magnitude that their application to the communities studied seems remote. But with the master plans considered as the beginning of the evolution in metropolitan government, who knows when or how effective planning may eventually emerge.

The Montana legislature has taken a step backwards in planning in regard to the above discussion which argued

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

that planning should be more than advisory but should become an integral arm of government. As already indicated, due to the constitutional issues raised in the case of *Plaith v. Hi-Ball*, the thirty-eighth legislature amended and repealed over thirty provisions of the original planning code. Some of these changes made planning even more advisory. The amended section 11-3826 provides: "...the planning board shall prepare a master plan and shall serve in an advisory capacity to the local governing bodies establishing the planning board. In section 11-3901, the 1963 amendment deleted from the end of the second paragraph a clause reading, "And in addition, that certain regulatory powers be created over developments affecting the public welfare and not now otherwise controlled, and that additional powers be granted legislative bodies of cities and counties to carry out the purpose of this act." The change was made because of the Montana Supreme Court's decision that the former provision in this section "that additional powers be granted legislative bodies of cities and counties" was invalid, in so far as it applied to counties, as an unconstitutional attempt to delegate legislative powers to counties in violation of article IV, section 1 of the Montana Constitution. This section of the Constitution provides that

the powers of government are divided into three distinct departments: The Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial. It further provides that no person or collection of persons charged with the exercise of specific powers cannot properly usurp those powers belonging to either of the other departments, except as is expressly directed or permitted by the constitution. On this basis, the court ruled that the legislature could not validly delegate legislative powers to boards of county commissioners, an integral part of the executive branch of state government. The amendment of section 11-3830 limited the jurisdictional powers of the city-county planning board which were six miles in the case of counties not exceeding twenty thousand (20,000) in population and twelve miles in counties exceeding twenty thousand (20,000) population to four and one-half miles for any city which comes under this planning legislation. The former limits were also considered by the Supreme Court as an unconstitutional attempt to delegate legislative power to the counties in violation of the State Constitution.

The Montana Supreme Court, at the time this paper was written, has, as yet, not ruled on the validity of the amended legislation. However, since a large number of changes were made by the legislature to overcome the court's negative



holding in the Plaith v. Hi-Ball case, one would assume that the present amended legislation is valid.

In general, the amended legislation was an expression on the part of the legislature that city-county planning should continue. However, it added nothing to make sure that existing plans, or newly formulated plans, will be carried out. From the interview data it would seem that the existing plans will be given some consideration and altered in time to comply with changing needs derived from further planning. However, the data also indicates that certain areas of the master plan, such as parks, may not be of such interest to the county, whereby they will be given the consideration needed to bring them into existence. Although parks were of special interest to the professional planner they are not of equal importance to the county officials. Therefore, the development of these planned parks may never take place, unless private groups or civic organizations take the initiative.

Not content to leave the reader with the feeling that the situation is completely hopeless, the author will include a few positive trends, as revealed in the findings, which should produce some optimism to relieve the degree of pessimism thus far created.

There is encouragement in that the interviewees understand and accept at least some degree of planning. The fact that these communities have published master plans and that two are willing to accept them as guides in their decision-making process is in itself an accomplishment. Although the tendency to confuse planning and zoning exists, at least this degree of planning acceptance is a beginning in the right direction.

If the boards will expand their acceptance of the process of planning it will form the basis upon which continued and more effective planning can evolve.

The judicial blows knocking down the original state enabling legislation for community planning did not slay the concept of planning. With great effort the law was reviewed and renewed, thus strengthening it for further more effective use. If the metropolitan communities show similar determination as was demonstrated by the state, then urban community planning will develop new life and vigor.

To produce concrete results, however, the state's planning law objectives must be considered in the light of existing related legislation, which often operates to stifle these objectives. More effective legislation must be initiated to aid effective planning. Examples have already

been discussed, platting, consolidation, and adequate county appropriations for park maintenance. There are certainly other provisions in state law which have not been considered in this paper. The state has accomplished a great deal in the area of planning legislation and there are no reasons, as far as the author knows, why further crystallization of planning law, as above suggested cannot be effected.

What has thus far transpired in the area of urban planning could not have happened if there had not been planning-oriented leadership. With the present degree of acceptance and an increased need for planning, as indicated by the findings, the future may produce more and stronger planning-oriented leadership. This may in time change the traditional political role of the urban politician. Officials must be motivated to plan for the welfare of the public, and to turn these plans into realities.

One can only hazard a guess as to whether the above trends will develop positively. For some, they may seem quite remote.

It is true that the findings indicate that the commissioners are interested in planning as such, but show considerable hesitancy when it comes to any effort on their part to establish the planned parks.

Returning to the concept of polyarchy, one finds that under this political process any governmental policy to be implemented requires widespread acceptance among the politically active within society.<sup>39</sup> Due to the need for this widespread acceptance, a powerful instrument of civic education is often required.<sup>40</sup> It is difficult to speculate how or where this kind of civic education will arise in the area of park development. Somehow it seems that general planning has slowly received approval; but since it is only an advisory activity to the active governmental body, it is not difficult for officials to reject this advice unless the public demands otherwise. With an increased demand for the items planned it is logically conceivable that eventually the public will, through the political process, order their governmental officials to carry out the plans. However, with existing complex alternatives for recreation, it is possible that park space may never become a general public demand. A minority would doubtless lack the bargaining power to convince the officials that public parks are necessary.

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<sup>39</sup>Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, Politics, Economics and Welfare, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 336.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

Effective planning, from what has been thus far discussed, may demand radical governmental changes, requiring a re-evaluation by the politician of his existing accepted role. These are extreme demands which may take a long time to achieve through our existing political process, polyarchy. Incrementalism has been considered the means within polyarchy of adjusting to political change.

. . . Incrementalism is a method of social action that takes existing reality as one alternative and compares the probable gains and losses of closely related alternatives by making relatively small adjustments in existing reality, or making larger adjustments about whose consequences approximately as much is known as about the consequences of existing reality, or both. Where small increments will clearly not achieve desired goals, the consequences of large increments are not fully known, and existing reality is clearly undesirable, incrementalism may have to give way to a calculated risk. Thus scientific methods, incrementalism, and calculated risks are on a continuum of policy methods.

. . . people cannot accurately foresee their own wants. Even assuming a perfect forecast of events, men cannot rationally choose among alternatives drastically different from present reality; only after they have tested the alternatives by choosing and then experiencing could they know whether they really wanted them. To be sure, they can exclude many unwanted alternatives without actually testing them. Most people do not need to live in a concentration camp, have an accident, get sick, become unemployed, or be disgraced in order to find out they would not like it. But it is much more difficult to know which of the remaining alternatives is preferable when the obviously undesirable alternatives are excluded. Incrementalism is a process of constantly testing one's preferences by

experience.<sup>41</sup>

It is difficult to comprehend that the existing reality of undeveloped planned parks within the county is such an undesirable factor that it would cause a demand for the extreme governmental changes advocated by the authors quoted in this chapter.

The findings have revealed a desire on the part of the city and county governments to maintain their identity. We are told that "The attempt to secure abrupt change by prescription usually fails because the operating organization, with its own codes and norms, resists sudden, large-scale change. To achieve large-scale change, the norms and codes of the operating organization must somehow be destroyed. But the outcome of the effort to destroy these norms and codes is usually quite unpredictable, first because one cannot foresee the consequences of the hierarchical control system used to destroy them, and second because one cannot be at all sure what norms will take the place of those already existing." Therefore, because of incrementalism, the revolutionary demands of combining existing governmental units and making planning an active arm of government for effective

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 82-83.

planning, are suggested long-range solutions which are difficult, and sometimes impossible, to achieve.

It may be that since the federal government, through its legislation and financial incentive, has motivated urban communities to take on the effort of creating master plans, it will, in time, take further action to cause these communities effectively to implement their plans. This is, however, mere speculation and only time will tell. In conclusion, it is apparent that the county parks planned within the communities studied are not likely to be established in the near future, if ever.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Urbanization in America is on the increase. Cities of all sizes are expanding, creating many problems. The demand and increased need for parks in the urban fringe is only one of them. Yet the complex problem encountered in meeting this isolated need indicates the myriad complications involved in the process of rapid urbanization. The attempt was also made to point out the burdensome adjustments required by the existing institutions in their efforts to meet the demands made upon them by an expanding urban community. The federal government has been awakened to the problems of urban expansion. Federal legislation has been enacted to assist metropolitan communities of all sizes. The creation and publication of city-county master plans was made possible through these federal provisions. It was the hope that comprehensive city-county planning would provide a more orderly expansion of urban centers. The three communities considered in this study took advantage of these federal provisions and created their master plans. One section of the plans is devoted to recreational and park facilities. Many of these parks were planned outside of the city limits within the



jurisdiction of county government. This raised the question: what, if anything, will the county do to bring these planned parks into existence? An attempt to find an answer to this question was made by interviewing the county's governmental body, their board of commissioners. With some difficulty these commissioners were interviewed. No direct opposition to planning and their master plans were expressed. There is little hope that the parks proposed in the plans will be developed. The idea of acquiring and developing parks was for these commissioners an entirely new and uncommon task. The importance of their traditional functions was such that the suggestion of this new task was difficult for them to comprehend. The county had no existing parks and no machinery with which to finance, to acquire, or to maintain parks. With continued valid planning, the proposed parks may still become a reality. With this hope in mind, the general issue of planning was pursued. One community was continuing its planning activities while the other two were not. Conflicts between county and city governments, along with other complications that have in part arisen out of the Supreme Court's decision that the state's planning law was unconstitutional. This placing of the law in abeyance until the legislature amended the planning code, can be considered as one of the

reasons for the halt in further planning. Chances are that planning may again some day be commenced since both of the boards which had discontinued their planning activities expressed a willingness to again work on the master plan if the problems which had caused its discontinuance were overcome.

To overcome this planning stalemate, revisions, amendments, and additions to the laws of the state which effect the implementation of the existing amended planning code may be required. In addition, the amended planning code may itself require changes. The literature on planning suggests more drastic measures. Existing metropolitan governments must relinquish their autonomy so that an effective, more inclusive governmental unit can be created to govern the total urban community. It may, therefore, be important in the interest of urban planning in Montana, to modernize the city-county consolidation code.

Cooperation in inter-governmental planning, the writers feel, is difficult to achieve. The genuine hostility between the city and county of two of the communities interviewed is evidence of this.

The hope is that continued planning efforts may effect a comprehensive concern for the total community which may change the traditional roles of the metropolitan politician.

A kind of political dynamics should be created which will change the existing form of multiple governments into a more inclusive unit, maintained through a comprehensive doctrine of public responsibility.

In other words, the modern concept of urban ecology accepts the ability of human effort to direct the course of urban expansion. The institution of government can, under effective leadership, control the forces present in the urbanization process to the extent that the arising needs are met. To do so, however, the very structure of government will have to be changed. To accomplish this change, much research, public education, and dynamic leadership is required.

The desirable end products of planning may be expected with the development and acceptance of an overall philosophy which leads to a comprehensive form of government. To accomplish this, forward looking, progressively daring political leadership will be needed.

In conclusion, the questions formulated in the statement of the problem will be answered.

1) Is the general attitude of the county commissioners toward the master plans such that they will be willing to adhere to the plans and proposals for park areas? Although the commissioners did not have an unfavorable attitude

toward their master plans as such, they did lack an interest in the section on parks to the extent that none were aware of the exact area and the specific kind of parks which were planned therein. After they were made aware of the existence of these proposed parks, they showed considerable reluctance to secure and to develop these parks. Therefore, it can be said that the county commissioners are not willing to adhere to the master plan's proposals for park areas.

2) Are the priorities of the function of county government such that parks will have a good chance of being developed as planned? No, the priorities of the function of county government as conceived by its commissioners are such that parks will have little chance of being developed as planned.

3) Is there any effort being made presently by the county to acquire and develop the designated parks of the master plan? Definitely not. No efforts of any kind are presently being made by the county to acquire and develop the designated parks of the master plan.

4) Will county government, as it exists today, be capable of acquiring and developing planned municipal parks? No. County government, as it exists today within its legal confines and political concern, is not capable of acquiring

and developing planned municipal parks.

It is difficult to know if the future air-conditioned, urbanized citizen will demand outdoor recreational park facilities as many citizens do today. The need and importance of parks, if tested by scientific research, may not be so great as some writers seem to think. Modern technology which has produced the industry that pollutes our air, including that of the park, may develop indoor recreational facilities which are better, more healthful and more useful than those in the open air. If research should verify this, many of the arguments presented here will be of little value. The admonition of Barnes and Reudi of a dozen years ago bears repeating: "In the future a scientific study of leisure should be one of the most important responsibilities of the social sciences."<sup>1</sup>

Not only in the area of recreational needs, but in a vast number of areas, modern urban planners and politicians require objective, comprehensive research in order to carry out their complex task.

Only a few of these areas for further research will

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<sup>1</sup>Harey Elmer Barnes and Green M. Reudi, The American Way of Life, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942), p. 25 & p. 751.

be discussed.

There is no question that more research is required in the area of legislation. What are the existing laws which hinder the execution of accepted plans? What kind of laws provide the machinery for government whereby it can carry on effective concrete planning? What kind of constitutional and legislative changes are required to establish a government with jurisdiction over the entire expanding urban community? How many communities have accepted the federal provisions, and, will they produce the desired objectives? What are the judicial interpretations of planning legislation? With these questions, and many more, answered by competent research, laws can be established to assist and mold the political efforts in the direction required for effective planning.

Inter-governmental rivalry and lack of cooperation is another area of urban planning which requires the observation of scientific research.

Studies should be conducted to assist the planner and its government in educating the public regarding the merits of good planning.

As a final statement on the need for, and importance of further research, we will again echo those authorities

who maintain the need for outdoor recreational facilities.

The importance for further research in the area of park planning and development rests on the fact that mistakes in this area are more serious than many other mistakes made in urban development. Should faulty buildings be erected or misplaced, they can be torn down and replaced. Land once brought into the active real estate market is not so easily returned into public use and a consideration which is even more vital is that land found suitable for park purpose may be impossible to redevelop after it has once been used for other purposes. As has been noted in this study, the rapid expansion of our cities does not of itself take care of park development as was often the case in the past. With less and less suitable land being available for parks its acquisition and preservation must become an important conservation program. To implement such a program, an effective philosophy must be developed, and many of the institutional functions of the past must be altered. To develop a proper philosophical framework, to understand what must be done, and to know how it should be done demands an increased effort in further research in this area of inquiry into the effectiveness of master plans for the establishing of public parks for recreational purposes.

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## APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

SELECTED STATUTES FROM THE

REVISED CODES OF MONTANA

ON COUNTY GOVERNMENT

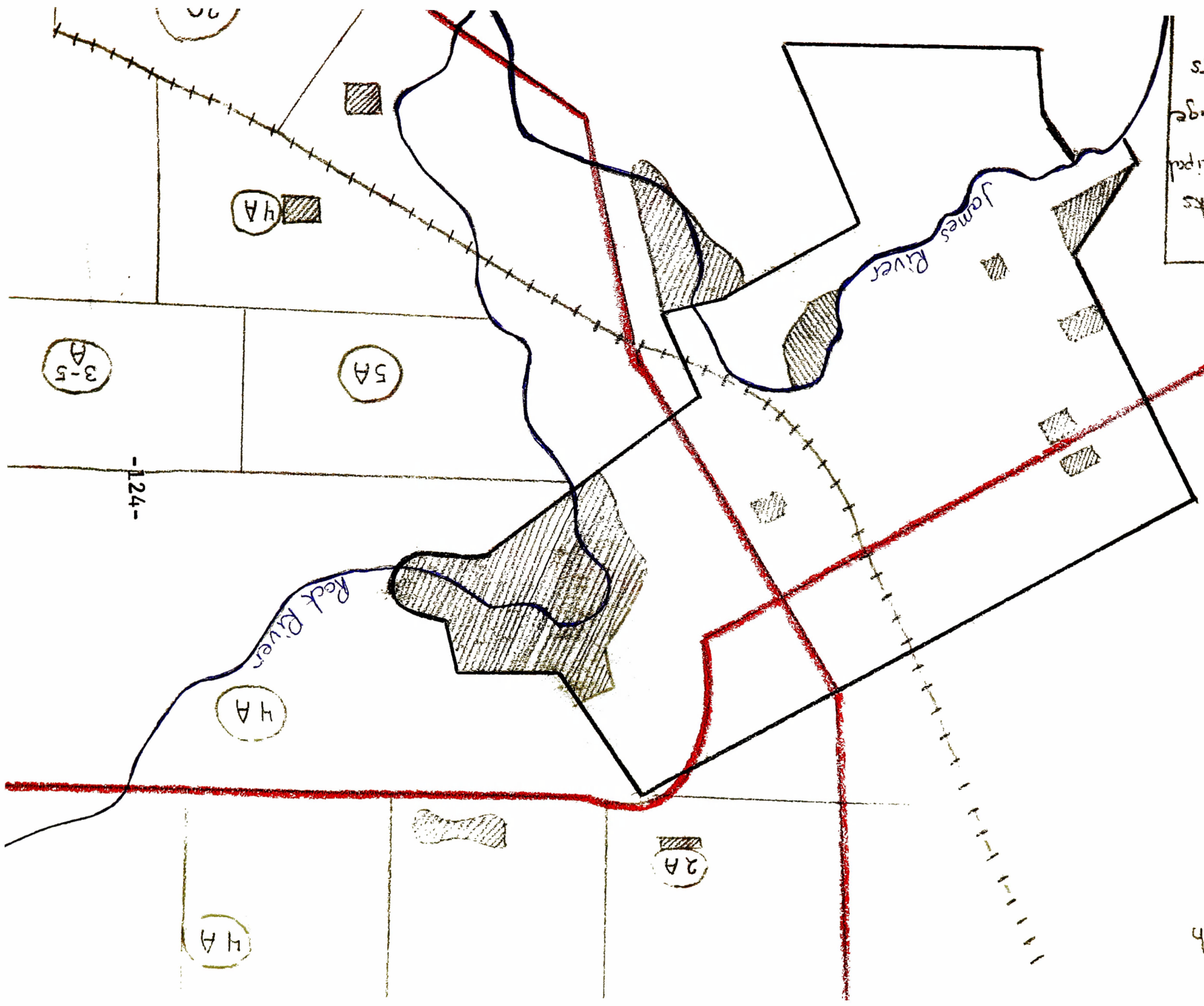
- 16-801 EVERY COUNTY A BODY CORPORATE. Every county is a body politic and corporate, and as such has the power specified in this code, or in special statutes, and such powers as are necessarily implied from those expressed.
- 16-802 POWERS, HOW EXERCISED. Its powers can only be exercised by the board of county commissioners, or by agents, and officers acting under their authority, or authority of law.
- 16-804 ENUMERATION OF POWERS. It has power:
1. To sue and be sued.
  2. To purchase and hold lands within its limits.
  3. To make such contracts and purchase, and hold such personal property as may be necessary to the exercise of its powers.
  4. To make such orders for the disposition or use of its property as the interests of its inhabitants require.
  5. To levy and collect such taxes for the purposes under its exclusive jurisdiction as are authorized by this code or by special statutes.
- 16-901 BOARD, HOW COMPOSED. Each county must have a board of county commissioners, consisting of three members, whose term of office is six years.
- 16-1001 POWERS OF SUPERVISION. The board of county commissioners has jurisdiction and power under such limitations and restrictions as are prescribed by law:

To supervise the official conduct of all county officers, and officers of all districts and other subdivisions of the county, charged with assessing, collecting, safekeeping, management or disbursement of the public revenues; see that they faithfully perform their duties, direct prosecutions for delinquencies, and when necessary require them to renew their official bonds; to make reports and to present their books and accounts for inspection.

COMMUNITY A

LEGEND  
existing parks  
proposed municipal  
parks with  
proposed acreage  
major streets  
rivers

North

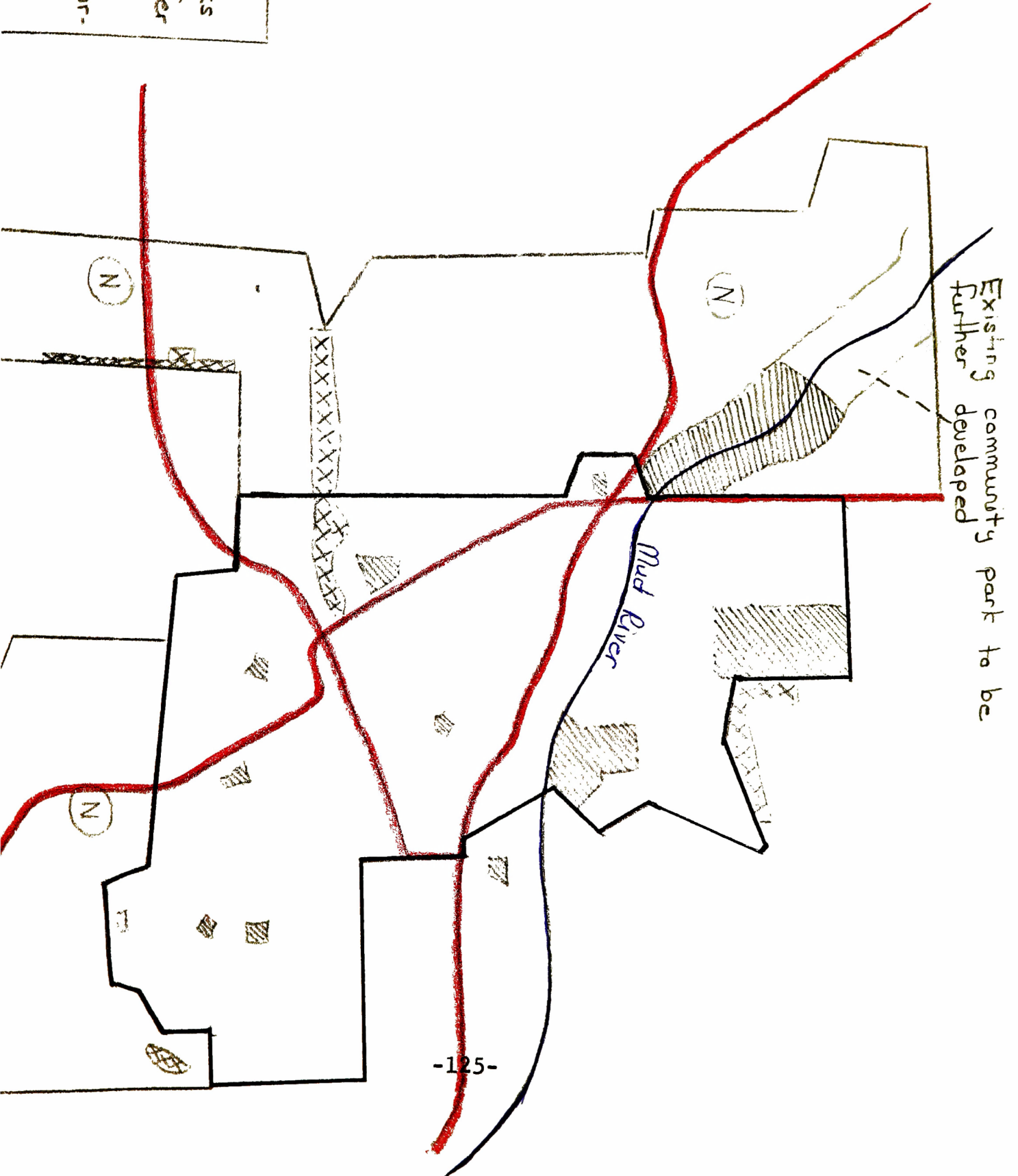


# COMMUNITY B

North



LEGEND	
existing parks	proposed parks
proposed buffer	proposed neighbor-
	hood parks
	city boundary












# COMMUNITY C

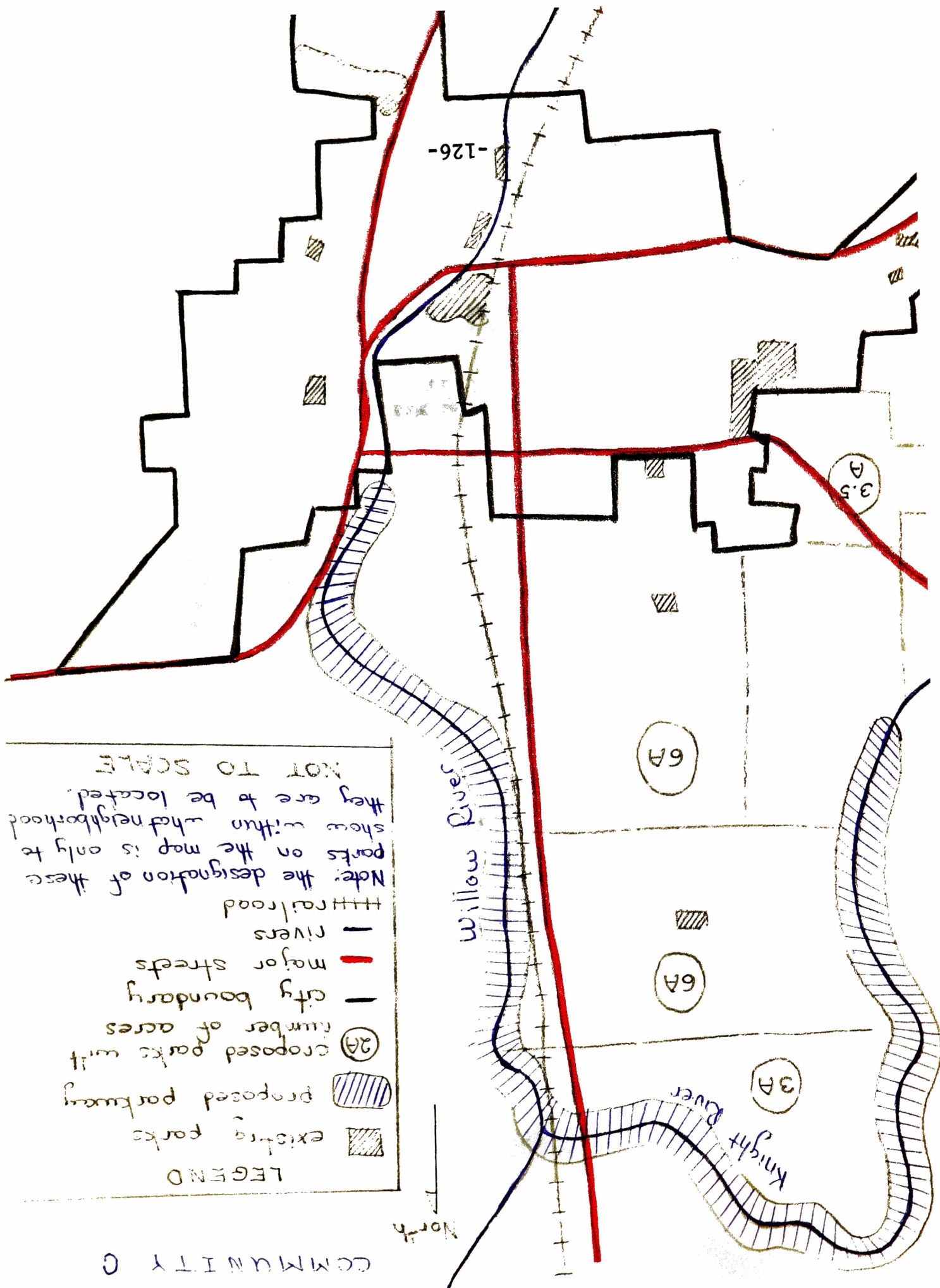
North

## LEGEND

-  existing parks
-  proposed parkway
-  (2A) proposed parks with number of acres
-  city boundary
-  major streets
-  rivers
-  railroad

Note: the designation of these parks on the map is only to show within what neighborhood they are to be located.

NOT TO SCALE





## APPENDIX V

### QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE

#### I. INTRODUCTORY PHASE

1. What is the length of your term of office?
2. Are these terms staggered in any way and if so, how?
3. What particular county governmental function demands the largest portion of the total county budget?
4. What would you consider to be the aspect of the operation of the county that takes up most of your time?
5. Are there any seasonal variations with reference to the above question?
6. Are there certain areas of the functions of the government that you may delegate to each other as being responsible in gathering information and checking out problems? For example, does one of you concern himself chiefly with the public welfare problem and another with the county roads, etc.?

#### II. CREATION OF THE MASTER PLAN

1. In the development of the Master Plan, what role did you as a Board of County Commissioners play, if any?
2. Were you given any specific areas of responsibilities?
3. Did you have any doubts concerning the idea of such an instrument?
4. What is to be the general purpose of a Master Plan?
5. What part has the city played in its development?

6. Were there any problems in two governmental units or bodies (City-County) working together in creating such an instrument?
7. Did you at the time you were working on the instrument feel that it was a worthwhile and useful project?

### III. CONCEPTS AND ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MASTER PLAN

1. What is the general purpose of a Master Plan?
2. In what specific way, if any, can a Master Plan serve a county?
3. Have you used the Master Plan in any way in order to make certain decisions or plans concerning the county?
4. Has the Master Plan in any way influenced any decisions that you have made since it has come into existence?
5. What was your reaction to the Master Plan idea after the Supreme Court case concerning a Billings corporation? (Platt v. Hi-Ball Contractors, Inc. 139 M 263, 262 p 2d 1021, 1025).
6. Were you expecting the results that did come out of the above case?
7. What were your reactions after you became aware of the results of the case? Did you continue to use the Master Plan as a tool that may still have considerable value to the county?
8. Did you anticipate further legislative action to follow after the decision of the case was handed down?
9. With over thirty (30) amendments and changes with some provisions entirely repealed during the 1963 legislature, do you feel that the Master Plan can now accomplish its designed function?

10. (If not) What are some of the problems yet to be worked out?
11. Are there any aspects of the entire Master Plan Code that you are not in full agreement with, and if so, what are they? (This can be stated as a general question as to their present attitude toward their Master Plan under the present changed code.)
12. Have you at any time consulted the Master Plan since the court case and the legislative changes, and if so, for what reasons?

IV. THE FUTURE OF THE PLAN WITH REFERENCE TO THE PROVISION ON PARKS THAT ARE FOUND WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THE COUNTIES

1. What aspect or area of the Master Plan would you consider as having priority in serving as a guide to any actions you may take in the future?
2. What are, if any, some possible outside factors and forces that you must definitely take into consideration even though they may be in absolute disagreement with the Master Plan itself?
3. Do you have any parks in your jurisdiction at the present time?
4. What purpose, in your estimation, do parks serve in any community?
5. In the Master Plan, in the section on parks, there are a number of general park areas proposed. Has there been, or do you expect, any public demands made for these parks?
6. Do you expect the real estate developers to give these parks consideration as they develop these areas without any assistance or demands from your office?

7. Do you feel that there are private citizens in present ownership of this land in question who will have a public interest whereby they will dedicate this land for park purposes without your prodding or maybe with your prodding?
8. Have there been any plans made by you as a board or as individuals in providing these areas for park purposes?
9. What are some of the specific aspects of these plans?
10. (If not) Do you have any future plans in creating an office or any necessary machinery for the development and maintenance of parks?
11. (If all of the previous questions are rather negative) How in the course of time do you expect these areas to come into existence as parks?
12. Are you at present following, or hope to instigate, a course of action that will insure the growth of these areas with the inclusion of these proposed parks?
13. Do you plan, in other words, a governmental instrument such as a Park Board who may assist you in these matters?
14. (If not) Do you think it necessary for such an arm of government to be eventually created? If not, why?
15. If no such instrument is called for, how do you propose to take care of these matters?
16. Would it be possible for the county to buy this land and then set it aside to be developed for park purposes later?
17. Would it not be economically the best time now to buy these areas before they are developed and the real estate cost would be such that the county could not afford to buy them later? Or do you think that the present platting laws which require land

to be set aside for parks will take care of this matter? Or do you anticipate the city to annex these areas and thus unburden you from taking care of this problem?

18. Do you feel that you need in this area of the Master Plan any assistance from the State Government?
19. Do you have any suggestions as to how these parks can be established aside from what we have thus far discussed?
20. Are there any additional aspects you wish to discuss concerning this matter?

APPENDIX VI

DIAGRAM OF THE COMMISSIONERS' OFFICE IN COMMUNITY B

